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Indore (M.P.)

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JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

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COINS IN THE EPIGRAPHIC AND LITERARY RECORDS OF NORTHERN INDIA IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

LALLANJI GOPAL

So far there has been no systematic attempt to identify the coins mentioned in epigraphic and literary records of the early medieval period.[1] Among literary records the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* and the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* are the most important as referring to many types of coins. The names mentioned in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* are *bhāgaka*, *rūpaka*, *viṃśatika*, *kārshāpaṇa*, *nishka*, *sūrpa* and *dramma*,[2] whereas the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* refers to *dīnāra*, *nishka*, *dramma*, *viṃśopaka* and *ṭaṅka*.[3] In the *Bṛihatkathākosha* of Harisheṇa we have references to *kapardaka* or *aksha*, *dramma* and *dīnāra*.[4] These same names are found in other literary works also but those which are most frequently mentioned are *rūpaka*, *dīnāra*, *nishka* and *kārshāpaṇa*.

The coin names occurring in the Paramāra inscriptions are *rūpaka*, *ardharūpaka*, *dramma* and *viṃśopika*.[5] The Chaulukya records mention *dramma*, *viṃśopaka*, *rūpaka* and *kārshāpaṇa*, the *Vīsalapriyadramma* and the *Bhīmapriyadramma*.[6] In the Pratihāra inscriptions we find the names of *dramma*, *pāda*, *rūpaka*, *viṃśopaka*, *paṇa* and *kākiṇī*.[7] According to Dr. D. Sharma the chief coins circulating in the area under the Chāhamānas were *dramma*, *viṃśopaka*, *lohaḍiyā*, *rūpaka*, *raupya-ṭaṅka*, *jītal* and *dīnāra*.[8] In the Siyadoni inscription[9] alone we find *pañchīyaka-dramma*, *Vigrahapāla-dramma*, *Vigrahatuṅgīya-dramma*, *Śrīmadādivarāha-dramma*, *viṃśopaka*, *kākiṇī*, *varāṭaka* and *kapardaka*.

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1. See R.C. Agrawal, *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 69-76; XIX, pp. 116ff; A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 271ff; D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, pp. 302ff; B. N. Puri, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 134-36.
2. XVII, 79-81, 84, 94; XX, 10. See also A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 271.
3. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 271.
4. *JUPHS.*, XIX, p. 85.
5. D. C. Ganguly, *Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 243.
6. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 271.
7. B. N. Puri, *Pratihāras*, pp. 134-36.
8. *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 302ff.
9. See *EI.*, I, pp. 168f.

It is clear from the numerous references to *dramma* in the inscriptions of the early medieval period[1] that it was the most common coin. The name is variously spelt, and is sometimes abbreviated as *drā* or *dra*.[2] The term *dramma* is derived from the Greek drachma. These coins were called *dramma* because they adopted the weight standard for a drachma. We know that the weight of a drachma is followed by coins which are generally described as the Indo-Sassanian or *gadhiyā* coins. The term *dramma* would appear to have originally and mostly denoted this series of coins and later on came to be applied to other coins which adopted the drachma weight standard. A general support for this is to be found in the close resemblance in the geographical distribution of the Indo-Sassanian coins and the areas covered by the inscriptions referring to *drammas*. These include Rajasthan, Marwar, Gujarat, the northern parts of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, Central India and U. P.[3]

The term *dramma*, though originally connected with a weight scheme, does not seem to have been used in the epigraphic records for coins of different metals; on the contrary, it appears to have mostly been used for silver coins with this weight.[4] In one inscription *dramma* is distinguished from *suvarṇa*[5] which obviously denoted a gold coin, while in some others it is differentiated from *paṇa*,[6] most likely a copper coin. The *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskarāchārya[7] gives the following equations : 16 *paṇas* = 1 *dramma*, 16 *drammas* = 1 *nishka*. It would appear from this table that *paṇa*, *dramma* and *nishka* signified respectively copper, silver and gold coins. There are also other indications to suggest that *dramma* denoted basically a silver currency. Thus, the *Bṛihatkalpabhāshya* of Kshemakīrti describes the *drammas* of Bhillamāla as being of silver.[8] An inscription from Dhoda (Mewar) dated 1171 A. D. specifically refers to the *drammas* with the name of Ajayadeva as being of silver.[1] In the *Upakeśagachchhapaṭṭāvali* the *gadahiyā-mudrā* which stands for the Indo-Sassanian coins or the *drammas* of the inscriptions is said to have been made of silver.[2]

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[1] *JNSI.*, XVII., pp. 66-68 ; D. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 303 ; B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History*, p. 216.

[2] *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 68f.

[3] The coins with the name *Śrī Vigraha* are found in east up to Magadha. It is however significant that *dramma* is mentioned also in the Bodhagaya inscription of Dharmapāla, *JASB.*, (N. S.), IV, p. 101.

[4] Bhagwanlal Indraji, *JBBRAS.*, XII, pp. 325-8 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, *AIN.*, pp. 207, 209 ; V. V. Mirashi, *JNSI.*, III, pp. 36f. ; *CII*, IV, p. clxxxiv.

[5] *EI.*, VII, p. 40.

[6] *EI.*, XXIV, pp. 329 ff.

[7] I, 2-4.

[8] *Rūpamayaṁ vā nāṇakaṃ bhavati yathā Bhillamāle drammaḥ*, q. in *JNSI.*, XIV, p. 109.

We know that, following the example of Gāṅgeyadeva, many dynasties struck their gold coins after the weight standard of a drachma. No doubt, so far as the weight of these coins is concerned, it will be convenient to describe their several denominations in terms of *drammas*. But it does not appear likely that *dramma* occurring in the records of northern India in the early medieval period denoted gold coins. The only exception to this is found in an inscription of the ninth century which refers to *kāñchanadramma-śataṁ*.[3] As the gold coins with the seated goddess device and adopting the drachma weight standard are known to have been initiated by Gāṅgeyadeva, the present reference could not have been to coins of this series. Either *dramma* is to be taken here as a general term of a coin or else we have to postulate that the Indo-Sassanian coins were struck of gold also.[4]

It has been suggested by Dr. A. K. Majumdar[5] that, as in the northern provinces of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire,[6] *dramma* in the Chaulukya records also was applied to both silver and gold coins. To prove that *dramma* sometimes denoted a gold coin he relies on the Timana record which mentions the grants of a *rūpaka* and a *dramma* made to a temple.[7] He argues that as there is a reference here to a daily grant of one *rūpaka* and an annual grant of one *dramma*, *dramma* denoted a coin of greater value, most probably a gold coin. But the inscription refers to two different grants and there is nothing to suggest that they stand for the same grant in terms of a daily and annual award.[8]

It has been suggested in a recent study[9] that there were gold *drammas* known after the name of king Vīsaladeva. This is evidently based on the Bhinmal inscription of V. S. 1345[1] which mentions *raukma Vīsalaprī drā* 200. This is the solitary instance of its kind against which a case of general improbability is created by the fact that hitherto no such gold coins have been discovered. We would suggest that here *raukma* is a mistake for *raukya* meaning cash which is also used in the *Lekhapaddhati*[2] in connection with money transactions in terms of the coins in circulation.

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[1] *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, XLV, p. 358.

[2] *JNSI.*, XX, p. 18.

[3] *IA.*, XIII, p. 136.

[4] Mr. Nagar of the Lucknow Museum claims to have found a gold coin of Bhoja (B. N. Puri, *Pratihāras*, p. 153 f. n.) who is known to have struck the Indo-Sassanian coins of the *Ādivarāha* type of silver and copper.

[5] *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 273f. See also *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 77f.

[6] A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their times*, pp. 364f.

[7] *IA.*, XI, p. 337. The reference is probably to plate II, 11. 1-3.

[8] *JNSI.*, XIX, pp. 118f.

[9] *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 78.

Our records mention certain types of *drammas*[3] named after the king who issued them. The *Śrīmad-Ādivarāha dramma* mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription[4] and the *Varāhamudrā* of the *Dravyaparīkshā*[5] are to be identified with the Indo-Sassanian coins with the legend *Śrīmadādivarāha*, issued by the Pratihāra king Bhoja I.[6] The *drammas* variously described in the Siyadoni inscription as *Vigrahapālīya dramma*, *Vigrahapāladramma*, *Vigrahapāla-satka dramma* and *Vigraha dramma* can easily be recognised as the Indo-Sassanian coins with the name of *Śrī Vigraha* on them, though it is difficult to be dogmatic about the king who struck them. The Siyadoni inscription also refers to the *Vigrahatuṅgīya drammas* which are generally identified with the *Vigrahapālīya drammas.*[7] S. Ray[8] proposes to identify these with the Kashmir coins of Vigrahatuṅga. But the coins from Kashmir are not known to have been based on the drachma standard of weight and hence the name *dramma* can be applied to them only if *dramma* is treated as a general term for coins. Some coins of the typical Kashmir device of debased standing king and goddess have on them the name of *Śrī Vigraha* but are not known to have circulated outside Kashmir.

The *Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha*[9] variously spells a coin as *Bhīmapriya-dramma*, *Bhīmaprī drāma*, *Bhīmapuri drāma* and *Bhīmasena dramma*. These may be identified with *Bhīmapuri*

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1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 1, p. 488.
2. Pp. 25, 34, 35, 36, 41, 56.
3. I have taken much help from the article on the subject by Mr. R. C. Agrawal, *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 69-76.
4. *EI.*, I, p. 169.
5. *JNSI.*, X, p. 29.
6. See the Kaman inscription (*EI.*, XXIV, p. 332) for a reference to *drammas* circulated by king Bhojadeva.
7. *JNSI.*, III, p. 38 ; XIV, p. 125, f.n. 3.
8. *JNSI.*, XVI, pp. 125-7.
9. Pp. 33, 34, 65, 95 ; *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 71.

coins mentioned in the *Dravya-parīkshā*[1] and were probably struck by one of the Chaulukya kings with the name of Bhīma. But we have yet to find a coin with this name.

In the epigraphic records there are references to *Vīsalaprī dra*, *Vīsalapriya-dramma*, *Vīsa dra* and *Vīsalapurī dra.*[2] The *Lekhapaddhati* calls these both *Viśvamallapriya* and *Vīsalapriya dramma.*[3] Those coins have most likely to be ascribed to king Vīsaladeva of the Vāghela dynasty. But no such coins have yet been recovered.

The *Ajayadeva drammas* mentioned in an inscription from Dhoda (Mewar) dated 1171 A. D.[4] have been described as *Ajayapriya rūpakas* in the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya Mahākāvya.*[5] These coins were struck by the Chāhamāna king Ajayadeva and have been recovered from Rajasthan.

The records of the early medieval period reveal the names of several other coins with the name of *dramma* attached to them. *Poruthi dra* and *pāruttha dra* are mentioned in an inscription of Aparāditya II, dated 1184 A.D.[6] An inscription of the Śilāhāra king Someśvara, dated 1260 A.D. refers to *poruttha drammas*[7] (sic). In the *Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha*, these coins are called *pārūthaka*[8] or *pārutha.*[9] The *Kharatara-gachchha-brihadgurvāvali* mentions these as *pāruttha drammas.*[10] The *Lekhapaddhati* gives the name as *pāraupatha*[11] or *pārupathaka.*[12]

It is not possible to explain the name of this coin or to identify it. The references suggest that it was circulating in Rajasthan, Malwa, Gujarat, Konkan and Marwar areas. A.K. Narain[13] suggested these to be Parthian *drammas* mentioned as Khurāsāni dirhams by Abul Fida and as Tātariya or

[1] *Bhīmapriya-daśa-viṁśopaka* mentioned in the Juna (Marwar) Inscription of V.S. 1352 (*EI.*, XI, p. 59) also implies the existence of *Bhīmapriya drammas.*
[2] *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 72f.
[3] For *Viśvamallapriya drammas* see pp. 33, 37, 39, 55 ; for *Vīsalapriya drammas* see p. 42.
[4] *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, XLV, p. 538.
[5] V, 88-89.
[6] *JBORS.*, XXIX, pp. 211-15, 11. 10-11.
[7] *EI.*, XXIII, p. 280, 11. 13-15.
[8] Pp. 53, 128.
[9] P. 78.
[10] Pp. 2, 13.
[11] Pp. 34, 41f, 35, 36f.
[12] P. 43.
[13] *BG.*, 1896, I, pt. II, p. 21, f.n. 6.

Tahiriyeh dirhams by Al-Mas'ūdī and Sulaimān. But the *pāruttha drammas* appear to have been in regular and common circulation in Marwar and Konkan and so it would not be safe to identify them with any foreign currency.[1] In all the references to this coin in the *Lekhapaddhati* they are said to have been struck at the mint of Śrīmāla.

C. D. Dalal[2] takes *pāraupatha* to represent a proper name. The *Lekhapaddhati* uses the adjectives *śreshṭha* and *śrīmat* before *pāraupatha*. But these do not necessarily imply that *paraupatha* was a personal name. The adjective *śreshṭha* is for the coin and refers to its good condition, while *śrīmat*, if not used for the coin, does not by itself make *pāraupatha* the name of a king because the *Lekhapaddhati* is literally full of cases of the use of *śrīmat* before the name of a city.

It is not unlikely that the name of the coin was derived from the place of its origin or minting, which seems to receive support from the forms *pārupathaka* and *pārūthaka*.[3] Dr. V. S. Agrawala[4] seems to have been right when he identified the *pāraupatha drammas* with the *Bhillamāla drammas* or the *Śrīmālīya drammas*. The name *Śrīmālīya dramma* would appear to be supported by the *Lekhapaddhati* which always refers to the *paruthaka* coins as minted at the Śrīmālīya mint. In the *Purātana-Prabandha-saṅgraha*[5] it is the *pārūthaka drammas* which alone are said to have circulated in the kingdom of Jalore near Bhinmal. Śrīmāla and Bhillamāla evidently refer to the same city. Kshemakīrti in his commentary on the *Brihatkalpabhāshya* refers to the *drammas* of Bhillamāla.[6] But we would emphasise that there were no coins with the names of *Bhillamāla* or *Śrīmālīya drammas*.[7] The excavations at Bhinmal in 1954 did not yield any such coin.[8] Śrīmāla or Bhillamāla was the name of a mint city and there is no justification for supposing that only one solitary type of coin was struck at this mint. In the *Lekhapaddhati* we have references to the minting at Śrīmāla of not only the *paraupatha*

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1. *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 75.
2. *Lekhapaddhati*, p. 114.
3. In the Bilhari Stone Inscription (*CII.*, IV, pp. 209 ff, v. 81) *paura* appears to have been the name of a coin used in connection with a tax on the sale of elephants and horses in the local market. See also vv. 79 and 80 of the same inscription.
4. *JNSI.*, XII, p. 201.
5. P. 53.
6. *JNSI.*, XIV, p. 109.
7. Contra see *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 74.
8. Ibid.

drammas but also the *Viśvamallapriya drammas*[1] and *drammas* in general.[2]

The *Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha*[3] equates 8 *drammas* with one *pārutthaka*. But even this clue does not help us in identifying the *pārutthaka* coin. The higher value attached to the *pārutthaka* coins could have been due to either their higher weight or superiority in metal. But as we do not know of any coin weighing 540 grains the first possibility is ruled out. It is not unlikely that in contrast to the highly debased or billon pieces the *pārutthaka* coins were of very pure silver or were silver coins plated with gold.[4]

The Jaunpur brick inscription of V. S. 1273[5] mentions a mortgage in terms of *shaḍboddika drammas*. Dr. V. S. Agrawala suggests that it was a copper coin equal in value to six *boddikas* or 3/32 silver *kārshāpaṇa*[6]. This can be accepted only when we take *dramma* as a general name for coins. If *dramma* here signifies the Indo-Sassanian coins of silver weighing 67.5 grains, then *shaḍboddika dramma* implies an inherent contradiction as a *dramma* cannot be equal to six *boddikas* in value. We learn from the *Līlāvatī*[7] that a *dramma* is equal to 64 *kākiṇīs*, which is another term for a *boddika*.

Cunningham[8] connected *boddika* with *pādika* or one-fourth of the ancient *kārsha* being 11.2 (44.8/2) grains in weight and hence a *shaḍboddika dramma* is made equal to 67.2 grains (11.2 × 6) and thus is said to represent the *gadhaiyā* coins of the period.[9] Cunningham's interpretation of *boddika* is however doubtful. *Boddika* is to be connected with *boḍḍi*, *boḍiā* or *boḍī* which was used for a *kākiṇī* and was equal to 80 cowries.

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[1] Pp. 33, 37, 39, 42, 55.

[2] P. 34.

[3] P. 53.

[4] D. Sharma, *JNSI.*, XXII, p. 196, regards the *pāruttha dramma* as a silver coin on the basis of the *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 34,43. But we do not find any indication of it in any of the references to this coin in this text. Probably Dr. D. Sharma bases his view on the term *raukya* used in some cases. But *raukya* means cash and refers to the cash payment of these coins in the transactions recorded in the documents.

[5] *JUPHS.*, XVIII, p. 196.

[6] Ibid. ; *JNSI.*, XII, p. 202.

[7] I, 2-4.

[8] *Archæological Survey Report*, XI, p. 176 ; *CMI.*, p. 50.

[9] *JASB.*, (Num. Supp.) 1930, p. 34 ; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 34 ; B. P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History*, p. 217.

We would interpret *shaḍboddika-dramma* on the analogy of *kapardaka-voḍḍi*[1] and *kapardaka-purāṇa*[2] as a *dramma* calculated in terms of 6 *boḍis*.[3] In the *Līlāvatī*[4] we find the equations: 4 *kākiṇīs* (i. e., *boḍis*) = 1 *paṇa* ; 16 *paṇas* = 1 *dramma*. It would therefore appear that ordinarily a *dramma* was calculated in terms of a *paṇa* of 4 *boḍis*. In opposition to the common *drammas* which were *chaturboddikas* and equal to 64 *boḍis*, the *shaḍboddikas* were higher in value being equal to 96 *boḍis*. A comparison of the tables in the *Līlāvatī*[5] and Śrīdhara's Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*[6] indicates that there were two types of *drammas* with two different values. The *dramma* in the *Līlāvatī* is worth 1280 (16 × 4 × 20) cowries, whereas according to the commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* it was equal to 2000 (5 × 4 × 5 × 20) cowries, thus being worth 1½ times the former. Significantly enough this is the relation between an ordinary or *chaturboddika dramma* and a *shaḍboddika dramma* and it is therefore not unlikely that the *dramma* contemplated in the Gujarati commentary was a *shaḍboddika dramma*. We know that some of the available Indo-Sassanian coins show a very wide difference in weight between 50 and 70 grains.[7] It is not unlikely that the heavier pieces represented the *shaḍboddikas*.

The Siyadoni inscription[8] mentions *pañchīyaka drammas*. It has been suggested on the analogy of the *shaḍboddika dramma*, that it consisted of five *boddikas*, and connecting *boddika* with *pādika* weighing 11.2 grains, the *pañchīyaka drammas* are said to weigh 56 (11.2 × 5) grains.[9] This weight scheme was adopted by the Shāhi kings and by others who struck coins after those of the Shāhis, and thus it is further claimed that *pañchīyaka drammas* are to be regarded as one of the two principal types of coins on the basis of their weights. But as we have pointed out, *boddika* is to be connected not with *pādika* but with *voḍi* or *kākiṇī*. Moreover the term *pañchīyaka* is not the same in form as the *shaḍboddika*, since it makes no mention of the *boḍi*.

Dr. B. N. Puri[10] has put forward the ingeneous suggestion

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1. *EI*, XXIII, p. 140, 1.6.
2. In many Sena grants, e.g. *IB.*, III, pp. 99 ff.
3. *JNSI.*, XX, p. 39.
4. I, 2-4.
5. Ibid.
6. *JNSI.*, XX, p. 40.
7. *CCIM.*, I, pp. 237-41.
8. *EI.*, I, p. 169, 11. 6, 37.
9. *JASB.*, (Num. Supp.), 1930, pp. 34ff.
10. *Pratihāras*, p. 134.

that these coins were introduced by the local *goshṭhī* or *pañchāyat*. But the term for such corporate bodies in the records of the period is *pañchakula* and not *pañcha*. Then, as rightly shown by Dr. A. K. Majumdar[1] the *pañchakula* did not represent the modern *pañchāyat* but rather a body of five men to assist various ministers and officers. Even if it is conceded that such local bodies existed in the period, there is no independent evidence to show that they possessed the important right to mint coins in their name.

Prof. V.V. Mirashi[2] has pointed out that in the Siyadoni inscription[3] a cess of ¼ *Adivarāha drammas* is subsequently put down as *paṁ dra* 1. It therefore follows that a quarter *dramma* was known as a *pañchīyaka dramma*, most probably because it was equal in value to 5 *viṁśopakas*. We know[4] that there are many coins which weigh about the one-fourth of the standard weight of a drachma. These may very well have been *pañchīyaka drammas*.

Thus in this case the term *dramma* would appear to have been used rather loosely and did not denote a coin weighing 67.5 grains. The *pañchīyaka drammas* no doubt were connected with the *dramma* coins, being a sub-division of the *drammas*, and so were justified in retaining the name of *dramma*. It is however to be noted that in the Siyadoni inscription itself there is a reference to a quarter of a *pañchīyaka dramma* (*pañchīyaka-dramma-pāda*).[5] If this refers not to the abstract value but to some specific coin having that value, then this would represent 1/16 of the drachma weight standard. This would be a really tiny coin, especially in view of the usual depreciation in the coins of this period, and we have yet to recover a coin with such a weight. In this case it is not unlikely that *pañchīyaka dramma* did not represent a coin weighing one-fourth of a *dramma* but a coin having that value, and it probably contained considerable copper.[6]

In the *Kharataragachchha-bṛihadgurvāvali* and the *Lekhapaddhati* we find references to *dvivallaka drammas*.[7] C.D. Dalal[8] and

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[1] *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 236-42.

[2] *CII.*, IV, p. cxxxiv.

[3] *EI.*, I, pp. 175-77, 1. 37.

[4] *CMI.*, pp. 53-55, 72; *CCIM;* I, pp. 253-55; *JASB.*, (N.S.), XXII, p. 131; *CII.*, IV, pp. clxxxv-clxxxvii.

[5] *EI.*, I, p. 173, 1.6.

[6] *Drā Ela* coins of the inscriptions (*EI.*, XI, pp. 51-2; *Jain Inscriptions*, I, p. 229, no. 884) may refer in abbreviations to some kind of *drammas*—*JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 75f. But it is not possible to explain their nature.

[7] *JNSI.*, XXII, p. 197.

[8] *Lekhapaddhati*, p. 118.

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Dr. V. S. Agrawala[1] explain these as coins having a mixture of two *vālas* or six *rattīs* of base metal. Recently Dr. D. Sharma[2] has pointed out that the *dvivallaka dramma* may be a Muslim coin introduced into Rajasthan and Gujarat after these territories were conquered by the Khaljīs, there being no reference to the actual use of this coin before 1323 A.D. He explains these coins as having two parts of base metal for one of precious, i.e., having silver and copper in the ratio of 1:2. He shows that the *aṭhagānī* coins of the *dramma* class belonging to the reign of Qutbuddīn Mubārak as described by Ṭhakkura Pheru have twice as much copper as silver. This seems convincing. But if *vallaka* is taken as a weight then the *dvivallaka drammas* may be explained alternatively as a sub-denomination of a *dramma* weighing 2 *vālas* or 6 *rattīs* or 10.98 grains. It is not unlikely that some smaller coins approximating to this weight represented the *dvivallaka drammas*.

There are epigraphic references to half (*drammārdhika* or *drammārdha*), one-third (*dramma-tribhāga*) and a quarter (*pāda*) *drammas*.[3] We know[4] that there are coins which are equal to the above-mentioned fractions of the weight of a *dramma*. Though there is no reference to one-eighth of a *dramma*, such coins have actually been recovered.[5] In an inscription from Ahar (Udaipur) of V. S. 1010 there is a reference to a cess as being 1/40th part of a *dramma* (*drammārdha-viṃśaka*)[6]. No coin of such a weight is known and unless it is taken to refer to a copper coin, it most likely stands for an arithmetical value and not for any specific coin.

The coin called *viṃśopaka* is sometimes spelt as *vaṃsopaka*, *visovaka*, *visopaka*, *piṃsopaka*, *viśopaka*, *visopaga* and *visovaga*.[7] It is clear from the Bhinmal inscription dated 1182 A.D.[8] that this was a coin considerably lesser in value than a *dramma*. This inscription refers to a tax of one *vi* on every *dramma*. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[9] regarded *viṃśopaka* as a copper coin

1. *JNSI.*, XII, pp. 202 f.
2. *JNSI.*, XXII, pp. 197-200.
3. *JNSI.*, XVII, pp. 79 f.
4. *CMI.*, pp. 53, 72 ; *IA.*, XXXVII, p. 147 f. ; *JNSI.*, V, p. 33. See also supra p. 9, f.n. 4.
5. *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 82.
6. *IA.*, LVIII, p. 162.
7. *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 80.
8. *BG.*, I, pt. I, pp. 47 f.-*teshāṃ prati dra vi 1 labhya.*
9. *EI.*, X, p. 19, f.n. 3. Originally he identified *viṃśopoka* with *paṇa* or *māsha* which according to Kātyāyana's table represents 1/20th of a silver *kārshāpaṇa* which in turn Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identified with *dramma*.

equal in value to 1/20th of a *dramma*. This suggestion is supported by the Siyadoni inscription[1] which mentions a monthly tax of half a *Vigrahatuṅgīya dramma* and then abbreviates this as *vi* 10, i.e. 10 *viṃśopakas*. The *Gaṇitasāra* of Ṭhakkura Pheru also equates 20 *vimsopakas* with one *dramma*.[2] As suggested by Prof. V. V. Mirashi[3] the coin was so named because it formed the twentieth part of a *dramma*. D. R. Bhandarkar seems to be justified in regarding *viṃśopaka* as a copper coin, because a silver coin weighing 1/20th of a *dramma* has not yet been recovered and would have been so tiny as to be inconvenient to handle. There are a few epigraphic references where *viṃśopakas* are not converted into their equivalent *drammas*[4]. But this does not affect the relation between the two coins, because such a way of representing the figures might have been regarded as more convenient as is sometimes the practice in modern times.

In the epigraphic records we find references to *viṃśopakas* associated with *Vigrahadrammas*, *Varāha-drammas* and those named *Bhīmapriya*.[5] The *Vṛish-Viṃśopakas* referred to in the Arthuna inscription dated 1079 A. D.[6] may have been either those with the bull and horseman device or else those of the bull and Śiva type.

In the Bilhari inscription[7] there is a reference to a coin called *shodaśikā* which Prof. V. V. Mirashi[8] regards on the

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1. *EI.*, I, pp. 173ff, 1.20.
2. D. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 319.
3. *CII.*, IV, p. clxxxix, f. n. 7. B. N. Puri, *Pratihāras*, p. 135, identifies *viṃśopaka* with ancient *viṃśatika* mentioned by Patañjali. He probably bases his suggestion on the similarity between the two names. Sandesara (*JNSI.*, VIII, p. 143) regards *viṃśopaka* as identical with *bīsā* mentioned in the Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*. But as pointed out by Dr. D. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 304, *viṃśopaka* is to be equated with *lohaṭika*, and not *bīsā* of the table. According to the table a *dramma* is equal to 100 *bīsās* or 20 *lohaṭikas*. Hara Govindadas Trikamchand explains *visopaga* or *visovaga* as the 1/20th part of a cowrie-shell—*Pāia Sadda Mahaṇṇavo*, IV, p. 1007.
4. *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 81; D. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 303, f. n. 45. The Dandhapur (Sirohi) Inscription of V. S. 1233 records a gift of 36 *viṃśopakas* and not 1 *dramma* and 16 *viṃśopakas*. In the Gundoch inscription of V. S. 1288 the rate of interest is given as 1/20 *dramma*.
5. *JNSI.*, XVII, p. 81.
6. *EI.*, XIV, pp. 295ff.
7. *CII.*, IV, pp. 209ff, v. 79.
8. Ibid., p. clxxxix.

analogy of the *viṃśopaka* as a copper coin worth 1/16 of a *dramma*. The *Līlāvatī*[1] makes one *dramma* equal to 16 *paṇas*. It is therefore not unlikely that *shoḍaśikā* was another name for the copper ooin commonly known as *paṇa*. But we learn from the *Śārṅgadharasaṃhitā* that the coin was called *shoḍaśikā* because it weighed 16 *māshas*.[2]

Rūpaka is another term which is very often referred to in the literary and epigraphic records of the period.[3] The references to *suvarṇa rūpakas* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*[4] indicate that in literary works *rūpakas* sometimes denoted coins in general. But *rūpya rūpaka* basically and generally stands for a silver coin.[5] In the *Prithvīrājavijaya*[6] the *drammas* struck by king Ajayadeva are called *rūpaka*. But *rūpaka* often referred to a specific silver coin and hence was distinguished from the *drammas*. The Ahar inscription belonging to the reign of the Guhila king Allaṭa records the tax of one *dramma* on the sale of an elephant and two *rūpakas* on that of a horse.[7] It is clear from this that *rūpaka* was different from and lower in value than *dramma*. Dr. B N. Puri[8] suggests that its value was between ¼ and 1/20 of a *dramma*. According to the Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* one *dramma* was equal to five *rūpakas*.[9] It is not unlikely that some of the silver coins of our period which weigh about 13.5 grains were meant to be used as *rūpakas*. Vishṇugupta as quoted in Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* equates 70 *rūpakas* with a *suvarṇa* and 28 *rūpakas* with a *dīnāra*.[10] We learn from the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* that one *rūvaga* (=*rūpaka*) was equal to 8 *kākiṇīs*.[11] As the *Līlāvatī* equates[13] 1 *dramma* with 64 *kākiṇīs*, we may infer that 8 *rūpakas* were equal to 1 *dramma*.

The Anjaneri plates of Bhogaśakti dated 710-11 A. D.[13] refer to the *rūpakas* of Krishṇarāja. These are to be identified with the silver coins weighing between 30 and 34 grains and struck by king Krishṇarāja (c. 555-575 A. D.) of the Kalachuri family.[14]

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1. I, 2.
2. *CII.*, IV, p. clxxxix.
3. *JNSI.*, XIX, pp. 116ff.
4. Ibid., p, 119.
5. Ibid., p. 117.
6. V, 88-89.
7. *IA.*, LVIII, p. 162.
8. *Pratihāras*, p. 136.
9. *JNSI.*, VIII, p. 144.
10. *JNSI.*, XIX, p. 116.
11. *JUPHS.*, XVIII, p. 67, f.n. 104. 12. I, 2-4.
13. *CII.*, IV, pp. 149ff, 11.38, 39.
14. *JBBRAS.*, XXI, pp. 213f.

The *Dvyāśrayakāvya* mentions a coin called *bhāgaka* which has been explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi as a term representing the half of a *rūpaka*.[1] It may be concluded from this that Abhayatilaka Gaṇi treated *bhāgaka* as standing for a theoretical coin-value and not some specific coin. In another place also he refers to *rūpakārdha*.[2] It is however not unlikely that there were actually coins weighing 6.75 grains or 1/10 of a *dramma*. A coin of Gāṅgeyadeva weighs 5.6 grains[3] and may have been struck as a *bhāgaka*. On the basis of a reference in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* as explained by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi[4] *viṃśatika* is taken to be a coin worth 20 *rūpakas*.[5] As there is no silver coin weighing 270 grains (13.5x20), it has been suggested that *viṃśatika* was a gold coin.[6] But we would argue that *viṃśatika* was not the name of any specific coin, but merely represented twenty times the value of a given coin. It was not connected with any specific coin but could be used for all alike. The commentary by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi clearly implies this when it explains *viṃśatika* as being twenty times the value of the *rūpaka* and other coins.

Another coin name in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*[7] which is not referred to in any other source is *sūrpa*. It appears to have been a coin of very little value, but it is not possible to say anything definite about it or to identify it.

In the literary records and also some of the inscriptions we find references to *kārshāpaṇas*.[8] *Kārshāpaṇa* is explained as a silver coin weighing a *karsha* or 80 *raktikas*[9] or 146.4 grains. But it is to be noted that no known silver coin of the early medieval period is based on this weight standard. Hence the references to *kārshāpaṇas* in this period are to be explained as survivals from earlier times or else as referring to weights of silver. It is also possible that in this period when coins were usually struck of a lesser weight than those of earlier times, the silver coins adopting the drachma weight standard were

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1. XVII, 94, p. 389—*bhāgaśabdo rūpakārdhe*.
2. Ibid., XVII, 93—*rūpakārdha-drammapañchakādi*.
3. *CCIM.*, I, p. 251, no. 9.
4. XVII, 81, p. 382—*viṃśatī rūpakādīni mānam-asya viṃśatikam*.
5. *JNSI.*, XIX, p. 119; A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 271.
6. *JNSI.*, VIII, p. 145.
7. XVII, p. 84.
8. *Dvyāśraya.*, XVII, 79, 84.
9. *JNSI.*, XIX, p. 117.

commonly referred to as *kārshāpaṇas*.[1] This would receive support from the fact that the *Līlāvatī* equates 16 *paṇas* with one *dramma*, since we know that this was the original relation between *paṇas* and *kārshāpaṇas*. Another possibility is that *kārshāpaṇa* was used to denote silver coins which in this period were struck according to the weight standard of *purāṇa*. In some sources like the Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*[2] one *purāṇa*, like the ancient *kārshāpaṇa*, is described as equal to 16 *paṇas*.

In the Kaman stone inscription of Bhojadeva we have a reference to *paṇas* along with *drammas*.[3] *Paṇa* is used for a copper coin as opposed to *rūpya* or *rūpaka* for a silver coin.[4] We have seen above that 16 *paṇas* are equated alike with *purāṇa*, *dramma* and *kārshāpaṇa*. The *paṇa* coins weigh a *karsha* or 146.4 grains.[5] We find that some copper coins of the early medieval period are based on the *karsha* standard of weight and are to be treated as *paṇas*. On the basis of the equation 80 cowries = 1 *purāṇa* as given in lexicons and of 16 *paṇas* = 1 *purāṇa* in the *Gaṇitasāra*, Dr. A. K. Majumdar[6] deduces that one *paṇa* is worth 5 cowries. This may be regarded as one of the several traditions about the value of a *paṇa*. But he does not take notice of the fact that in most of the tables on coins we have the equations 20 *varāṭakas* or *kauḍas* = 1 *kākiṇī* or *boḍī* and 4 *kākiṇīs* = 1 *paṇa*.[7] Thus the usual and common value of a *paṇa* was 80 cowries.

In the literary works of our period we generally find gold coins referred to as *nishka*, *suvarṇa* and *dīnāra*. Of these *dīnāra* in many cases came to stand for coins in general. Thus Jonarāja in his commentary on the *Prithvīrāja-vijaya Mahākāvya*[8] explains the silver coins of Ajayadeva called *rūpaka* as a special kind of *dīnāra* (or coin). In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[9] we have a reference to *dinnāras* of gold, silver and copper.

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[1] D.R. Bhandarkar, *AIN.*, p. 210 had originally suggested it but subsequently he changed his opinion—*EI.*, X, p. 19, f.n. 3.

[2] *JNSI.*, VIII., pp. 141 ff.

[3] *EI.*, XXIV., pp. 329 ff.

[4] *JNSI.*, XIX., p. 117.

[5] E.g., *Vaijayantī*, p. 189, 1.79.

[6] *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 272.

[7] *Līlāvatī*, I. 2-4 ; Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra*—*JNSI.*, VIII, pp. 141ff ; Bengali arithmetical table—*JUPHS.*, XVIII, p. 196.

[8] V, 88-89 ; *JNSI.*, XIX, pp. 117 f.

[9] VII, 950.

M.A. Stein[1] observes that if the *dinnāra* was more than a mere abstract unit of account, it could not well have been represented by any other token than the cowrie. The term *dinnāra* is derived, through the Greek, from the Latin *denarius*, which was a silver coin, but in Sanskrit lexicons it is treated as a name for a gold coin. It is not unlikely that the term sometimes denoted a gold coin struck in the Gupta period.

According to Vishṇugupta, as quoted in Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa*, 70 *rūpakas* = 1 *suvarṇa* and 28 *rūpakas* = 1 *dīnāra*.[2] Thus the relation between the values of a *dīnāra* and a *suvarṇa* will be 2 : 5. But Nārada and Kātyāyana treat *suvarṇa* and *dīnāra* as being synonymous.[3] According to the *Līlāvatī* 16 *drammas* are equal in value to a *nishka*, whereas a *karsha* (146.4 grains) of gold is called *suvarṇa*.[4] Excepting a few stray pieces the gold coins of this period are not found adopting the weight standard for a *suvarṇa*. It is likely that some of the gold coins of our period which appear to have been based on the drachma standard of weight were sometime called *nishkas*. From the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*[5] we learn that *nishka* was a gold piece weighing 108 *palas*. As one *pala* is equal to 4 *karshas* the weight of a *nishka* becomes too great to form a convenient coin and hence the *nishka* of the present reference is to be regarded rather as a metallic weight.

In the *Kharataragachchha-bṛihadgurvāvali* there are references to *hema-ṭaṅka* and *raupya-ṭaṅka* which Dr. D. Sharma regards as Muslim coins introduced by the Khaljīs after the conquest of Rajasthan and Gujarat.[6] Gold *ṭaṅkas* are mentioned by Jīnamaṇḍana and also in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.[7] *Taṅka* originally seems to have been a simple weight being equal to 4 *māshas*[8] or 8 *rattīs* or 14.64 grains. But as the derivation of the term suggests it was also used as a general name of a coin. That *ṭaṅka* was a very common name of a coin, whether general or of a specific type or metal, would follow from the coins of Mahmūdpur (new Lahore) struck by Mahmūd of Ghazni which have the name dirham in the cufic legend and *ṭaka* (or *ṭaṅka*) in the Brāhmī legend.[9] Ṭhakkura Pheru in

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1. *Rāj.*, II, p. 323.
2. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, p. 122, f.n. 162.
3. Ibid.
4. I, 2-4.
5. XVII, 84.
6. *JNSI.*, XXII, p. 197.
7. P. 15 ; A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 271.
8. *JNSI.*, XXII, p. 200.
9. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, illustration 7 ; *JASB.*, (Num. Supp.), 1930, p. 40.

his *Gaṇitasāra* equates 50 *drammas* with one *ṭaṅka*.[1] It is clear that the coin denoted by *ṭaṅka* here was a gold coin. In the Rewa Stone Inscription of Vijayasiṃha[2] there is a reference to *ṭaṅkakas* stamped with the effigy of Bhagavat (*Bhagavan-mudrayā*). Prof. V. V. Mirashi[3] explains this as referring to the gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva bearing the figure of Bhagavatī or Lakṣmī. He thus argues that gold coins of the period were called *ṭaṅkas*. This is also indicated by some of the references given above. But as this name is not found in any other inscription it may be suggested that some of the existing names for gold coins, such as *nishka*, *suvarṇa* and *dīnāra* which technically were applicable to gold coins of specific weight were also used to refer loosely to the gold coins of the period.

Another term which in the early medieval period denoted a gold coin was *gadyāṇaka*. In northern India it is found only in the records of the Gāhaḍavālas.[4] Prof. V.V. Mirashi equates *ṭaṅkas* and *gadyāṇakas* and adds that the larger gold coins of the Gāhaḍavālas weighing between 59 and 68 grains may be taken to be *gadyāṇakas*.[5] The weight of a *gadyāṇaka* according to the *Līlāvatī*[6] is 48 *rattīs* or 87.84 grains. It would therefore appear that even the larger coins of the Gāhaḍavālas were not based on the *gadyāṇaka* standard but were the result of the desire on the part of their issuer to be faithful to the standard weight of a *dramma*. Thus, these Gāhaḍavāla coins are to be named as *gadyāṇaka* only when the term is taken to refer to a gold coin in a very loose manner.

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[1] D. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 319.
[2] *CII.*, IV, no. 67, 11. 20-21.
[3] Ibid., p. clxxxiii.
[4] See B.P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History*, p. 242, n. 74.
[5] *CII.*, IV, p. cxxxiii.
[6] I, 3.

AUTHORITY OF MINTING COINS IN ANCIENT INDIA

K. D. BAJPAI

[Plate I]

Various problems relating to the coinage in ancient India have been discussed by several scholars.[1] It is now generally accepted that the early Indian punch-marked coins were current in different parts of the country. Recent archæological excavations[2] have confirmed the belief, mainly based on the literary evidence, that the manufacture of coins was known, at least in some parts of the country, during the early centuries of the first millennium B. C.

In this short note, I propose to deal with the question of authority responsible for the issue of coins in ancient India. The recent studies of the punch-marked hoards from different regions of the country tend to indicate that some of the *Janapadas* in the Buddha's time and afterwards were issuing the silver and copper coins with definite marks of their own. It is also known to us that during the Nanda-Maurya epoch it was the State which was mainly responsible for the minting and circulation of coins. Whether the State had the same system of minting and circulation of coins in the pre-Nanda times as envisaged in the *Arthaśāstra*[3] of Kauṭilya is a moot point.

There is no denying the fact that in ancient India, besides various States themselves minting coins, the authority was vested in various guilds of traders and silversmiths. V. A. Smith[4] thought that a large number of the ancient silver punch-marked coins was issued by the moneyers, who impressed their own symbols on them. This is supported by the literary evidence.[5] Two works of Buddhaghosha, viz. *Visuddhimagga* and *Samanta Pāsādikā*, and their commentaries, point out that the silversmiths, both in towns and villages, were empowered by the State to manufacture punch-marked coins. From these works, it also appears that the symbols put on the coins represented the particular village, town, hill or river-bank where they were made. A detailed study of the various regional hoards and the distinctive symbols on the coins of those hoards may prove quite fruitful in ascertaining the exact locations where the coins were minted.

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[1] See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lec.*, 1921, pp. 98ff; Walsh, *MASI.*, no. 19; Smith, *IMC.*, I, p. 133; Allan, *BMC.*, *AI.*, Intro.; S. V. Sohoni, 51st Presi. Add., Num Socy., 1961; M. M. Singh, *JNSI.*, XX, pp. 111ff; Lallanji Gopal, *JNSI.*, XXII, pp. 38 ff; D. C. Sircar, *JNSI.*, XXIII, pp. 297 ff; Upendra Thakur, *JNSI.*, XXIII, pp. 175 ff.

[2] See e.g. the *Kauśāmbî Excavation Report* (Allahabad, 1960), p. 81.

[3] II, 12-14.

[4] *IMC.*, I, p. 133.

[5] See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carm. Lec.*, pp. 99-100; *JNSI.*, XIII, pp. 183 ff; XXIII, pp. 297 ff.

It has been argued on the basis of a passage in the *Arthaśāstra*[1] that the State coined money for the use of the *Paura* and *Jānapada*. Some scholars take it to mean that the State minted the money in gold and silver for the corporate bodies.[2] But this is far from being correct. The passage only means to say that the Stategoldsmiths were assigned the duty of preparing silver and gold ornaments for the people of towns and villages.

That the guilds or corporations of traders were empowered to issue coins is attested by the *Negamā* coins from Taxila. The word *Negamā* (Skt. *Naigamāḥ*) here should be taken to mean "the *Śreṇīs* or corporations of merchants". The Taxila *Negamā* coins bear several other words, Dojaka, Aṭakaṭakā, Rālimasa, Kadare,[3] etc. I think that these terms refer to the merchants' localities where the respective coins were minted. Some Taxila coins bear the legend *Pañchanekame* meaning probably that they were issues of a joint body of five *nigamas* or of a guild called *Pañchanigama*. This would indicate that in the Gandhāra region during the 3rd-2nd centuries B. C. there existed several guilds of traders who were authorised to issue coins bearing their particular names. The appearance of the weighing scale on these coins, as also on some coins from Ayodhyā and some silver punch-marked coins, signifies the correctness of weight.

Another class of the inscribed coins from Taxila bears the legend *hiraṇyasame*.[4] Allan takes it to be the *Prākrita* form of *hiraṇyāśrama* (the golden hermitage ?). But this interpretation appears to be far from satisfactory. I venture to suggest that this legend, which is in the nominative form,

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1. II, 14.
2. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 254-55.
3. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 214-19, pls. XXXI and XXXIV.
4. Bühler's reading *hidujasame* is not correct. (See Allan, ibid., Intro., pp. 131-2).

may be taken to mean *hiraṇyaswāmī*[1] (the owner of the coined money). This possibly refers to the corporation of traders responsible for the manufacture of these coins.

Besides these *Negamā* coins from Taxila, there was so far no other clear numismatic evidence to show that the traders' guilds issued their own coins in ancient India. Recently I came across two copper coins bearing the name of *Gandhikas* (dealers in perfumes). One of the coins was purchased by me at Kauśāmbī. The other was examined by me in the coin-cabinet of the Allahabad Museum. Dr. S. C. Kala, Curator of the Museum, informed me that the coin came from Kauśāmbī. I examined the Allahabad Museum coin and found that it was similar to mine and bore the same inscription. I describe below the coin in my possession :

Copper ; circular, 0.5″ ; 21 grains.

Obv Circular Brāhmī legend in bold Mauryan characters–*Gadhikānaṁ*.

Rev. Square with crosses. **(Pl. I. 1)**

The legend *Gadhikānaṁ* can be interpreted to mean "of the Gandhikas" (dealers in perfumes).

The *Gandhikas* played an important role in ancient Indian economic life. The donations made by the *Gandhikas* are referred to in various early inscriptions from Bharhut, Mathura, Karle, Pitalkhora, Amaravati, etc.[2] Rich perfume-dealers hailed from such towns as Mathura, Pratishṭhāna, Dhenukākaṭa and Karahakaṭa. They usually made donations for the religious institutions located in various parts of the country.

The script of the legend on the coin described above is typically Mauryan, which assigns it to the 3rd-2nd cent. B. C. The Taxila *Negamā* coins also belong to the same period. It appears that soon after the disintegration of Aśoka's empire the guilds of traders were empowered to issue their coins in some parts of the country. Although a few rulers had now begun to

[1] The word *hiraṇya* does not mean gold only. It also stands for (coined) money. (See Monier William's *Dictionary* and *Halāyudha Kośa* under *hiraṇyam*).

[2] See *Lüders* nos. 37, 68, 76, 1090, 1187, 1210 and 1230. One of the Bharhut inscriptions (Barua and Sinha, *Bhar. Ins.*, p. 17, no. 46) refers to a donor named Uttara, a perfume-dealer and resident of Karahakaṭa. Barua wrongly translates the inscription as "Uttaragrahika of Karahakaṭa."

issue coins with their own names on them, it appears very plausible that the power of manufacturing coins was enjoyed by some guilds and silversmiths. This is borne out by the passage of *Visuddhimagga* referred to above. This literary reference makes us believe that the practice was current even up to the 5th century A.D. Some of the States seem to have given the sole authority to the merchants and their guilds for the manufacture of coins in the post-Mauryan era.

I publish below two more rare coins which lend support to my theory. One of these was noticed by me among the Kauśāmbī coins of Shri Janeshwar Das of Allahabad and has now been purchased for the State Museum, Lucknow. The other coin has recently been acquired by me from Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh. The description of these is as under :

Kauśāmbī Coin

Copper ; round, 0.45″ ; 19.25 grains.

Obv. Border Brāhmī legend in bold characters—*Kaśabikanaṁ*.

Rev. Circle with a dot in the centre and a crescent above it.

(Pl. I. 2)

The legend *Kaśabikanaṁ* is written in the Mauryan Brāhmī characters. A few copper coins bearing the name *Kasabi* or *Koshavi*[1] are already known to us and so also the coins bearing the names of several other towns such as Tripurī, Ujjainī, Erakaṇa, Vārāṇasī, etc.[2]

The present coin is unique in so far as it refers to the people of the Kauśāmbī town, the capital of the Vatsa-*janapada*. I suggest that the coin was issued by a corporation of traders, who had their establishment in Kauśāmbī. This may have been the case with the other city-name coins referred to above. That more than one guild of the same town used to issue such coins is borne out by the varieties in these coins regarding fabric, symbols and inscriptions.[3]

The second coin, acquired from Vidiśā, is described below :

Copper ; almost square, 0.5″ × 0.425″ ; 28.5 grains.

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1. Allan, Loc. cit., Intro., p. 99 ; *JNSI*., XI, pp. 9-10 ; XXIII, p. 416.
2. See S. L. Katare, *JNSI*., XIII, pp. 40ff.
3. Cf. Tripurī aud Kauśāmbī coins of various types (f.n. 1 and 2 above).

Obv. In an incuse, half Sun-symbol. Brāhmī legend—*Kānaṁ*.

Rev. Taurine symbol at one corner. **(Pl. I. 3)**

It appears that the complete die, containing the sun-symbol and the legend ending in *Kānaṁ*, could not be accommodated on the flan of the coin due to the smaller size of the latter. The complete legend would have given us the name of the people who issued this coin. It is clear, at any rate, that this coin also was issued by a corporation of merchants, probably of Vidiśā, whose name unfortunately is lost due to the incomplete legend.

It is hoped that some more coins bearing the names of other *nigamas* would be forthcoming to prove the contention that the authority of manufacturing coins in ancient India was vested in the corporations of various traders and silversmiths.

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EYYAL HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED AND ROMAN COINS

N. G. UNNITHAN

In October 1945, Shri Tharayil Karappan Krishnan, a banana plater, found an earthen jar while he was preparing his land on the slope of a laterite hill in the Eyyal village of Talapalli taluka in Trichur district. The earthen jar contained 34 silver punch-marked coins and 12 gold and 71 silver Roman coins. The entire treasure was later acquired under the law by the Archaeological Department of the then Cochin State and is now deposited in the Archaeological Museum, Trichur. This find is casually referred here and there, but was never published.

Cart-loads of Roman coins are said to have been unearthed in Malabar,[1] mostly in north Malabar.[2] Other parts of Kerala also seem to have yielded some such coins.[3] Such profuse flow of Roman coins into Southern India may be accounted, in the words of Pliny, to 'the wasteful extravagance of the richer classes and their reckless expenditure on spices, pepper, perfumes, ivory, muslin, cotton and precious stones such as beryl'.[4] It is regrettable that none of these finds were ever properly studied or published and now little is left of them. Most of them, probably, passed into the treasuries of the former princes of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar.

The same, however, could not be said about the silver punch-marked coins, which were the indigenous coinage of this country. So far, only one hoard of 184 punch-marked coins is known to have been found in Kerala, in the Kottayam district of the former Travancore State,[5] which is now deposited in the Padmanabhapur Palace Museum and is still unpublished.

The present hoard is the only one of its kind from Kerala where the indigenous silver punch-marked coins are found along with the Roman coins. Such mixed hoards are not many. The only one, so far published, is the Nasthulapur hoard from the former Hyderabad state.[6]

1. *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 623.
2. W. Logan, *Malabar*, I, p. 251.
3. *Malabar District Gazetteer*, I, p. 31.
4. *Carm. Lec.*, p. 202.
5. *Administration Report, Dept. of Archæology*, 1121 M. E.
6. *JNSI.*, XIX, p. 1; *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 27ff.

Of the 12 Roman gold coins, eight belong to Tiberius, two to Nero, and one each to Claudius and Trojan. Thus these coins extend from 14 to 117 A. D., and are the latest coins in the hoard. Most of them are fresh in appearance. The silver Roman coins are much worn and are datable from 69 B. C. to 64 A. D. Forty-four out of 71 coins are the issues of Caesar Augustus, one of Mark Antony, four of Claudius, four of Nero, four of Senatus Counsul, and two of Tiberius. The remaining two are broken pieces unidentifiable.[1]

All the 34 silver punch-marked coins are of the Imperial series, i.e. they have five symbols on the obverse and are of the type that was current all over India. Three of the coins are extremely worn and have lost almost all the traces of the symbols; two others have faint traces of the sun symbol only. So these five coins cannot be attributed to any class or variety. The remaining coins are also sufficiently worn and in many cases it is not possible to identify all the five symbols on them. However, they have enough indications to identify them into Class, Group or Variety.[2] Six of the coins belong to the pre-Mauryan period and the rest to Mauryan.

Pre-Mauryan Coins

The six coins that may be assigned to pre-Mauryan period are of six different varieties, all belonging to different classes. They may be described as follows:

No.	Size[3]	Weight[4]	Variety[5]	Remarks
1.	1.8 × 1.52	2.08	II. F.x	The fifth symbol is not visible. It has two minute symbols on the reverse, one of which is the three-arched hill with crescent.

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[1] *Administration Report, Department of Archæology, Cochin State*, 1123 M. E , p. 13.

[2] [The coins being worn, are not illustrated here. The description, however, has been checked with the originals.—*P. L. G.*]

[3] The size here and in the following pages is given in centimeters.

[4] The weight is given here and in the following pages in grammes.

[5] The varieties of the coins referred to here and in the following pages are those that are given in the *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum.*

2.	1.35 × 1.85	2.118	II.A.1	All the five symbols are clear and preserved. Overpunching the fifth symbol is the sixth symbol — four circles with a dot within a long rectangle, which is seen on many coins punched towards the edge. Five minute marks on the reverse.
3.	1.65 × 1.35	1.50	II.G(a).x	This is a broken piece and only three symbols appear faintly. Third and fifth symbols are not visible. The identity of the second symbol is also not certain. Six minute marks on the reverse.
4.	1.55 × 1.35	2.378	II.I.1	All the five symbols may be identified. Reverse has one or two marks, but not clear.
5.	Diam. 1.4	2.095	?	Traces of five symbols are there, but none except the sun can be identified. However, one of them appears to be six-arched hill with a dot in each arch. I am not aware of any coin with any such symbol. I feel that it belongs to some unpublished variety.
6.	1.6 × 1.32	1.432	II.K.x	The coin is broken. Only traces of three symbols are seen. The second and the fifth symbols are not visible. The coin is classified on the basis of the class and group symbols.

Mauryan Coins

The remaining 23 coins have the class symbol—three arched hill with crescent on their obverse; as such, it is easy to attribute them to the Mauryan period. But three of them (nos. 27-29) do not show the traces of any other symbol and they cannot be classified into any group or variety. The remaining belong to the following five groups :

III.A(c) — 7.
III.A(a) — 3.
III.A(e) — 2.
III.A(d) — 2.
III.A(h) — 6.

The seven coins belonging to Group III.A(c) have the group mark—three branches of a tree on the corner of a four-squared railing. These coins may be distinguished into three varieties. Three of them (nos. 7-9) have Elephant with a spider below as their fifth symbol ; three have Bull with a taurine in front; and one has the Triangle-headed standard under an arch with a taurine on either side.

Of the three coins of the Group III.A(a), two have the group mark—hare with pup in its mouth, quite identifiable. The third does not show that symbol, but the fifth symbol, a bud-like object flanked on either side by a gate and a flag, which is exclusive to this group, enables to place the coin in the group. But then, one of the coins does not show the fifth symbol, and so its variety cannot be determined.

The two coins of the Group III.A(e) belong to a single variety with the fifth symbol—a human figure over a pole with a four-squared railing flanked by taurines.

The two coins of Group III.A(d), with the peacock on the hill as the group or fourth symbol, show traces of their fifth symbol—steel-yard, but their form is not clear, and so their variety cannot be determined.

Of the six coins of Group III.A(h), three do not show their fifth symbol. So they cannot be identified into varieties. The other three belong to three different varieties as having (i) Ujjain man, (ii) treskelis and (iii) four crescents around a dot with a beetle (?) below. On three of the coins, sun and the six-armed symbol, both, are not visible ; on one, the sun is missing, and on the remaining two the six-armed symbol is not seen.

All these coins may be described as follows :

No.	Size	Weight	Variety	Remarks
7.	1.4 × 1.6	1.697	III.A(c).3	One mark on the reverse, but not clear.
8.	1.6 × 1.65	1.444	do	The fourth symbol is not clear. On the reverse, one indistinct mark.
9.	1.25 × 1.5	1.971	do	The second and the fourth symbols are not clear. The mark on the reverse is also not clear.
10.	1.55 × 1.05	1.454	III.A(c).1	One indistinct mark on reverse.
11.	1.8 × 1.25	1.676	do	The sun symbol is not visible.
12.	1.3 × 1.4	1.799	do	The reverse is blank.
13.	1.4 × 1.45	1.618	III.A(c).2	The sun and the six-armed symbol on the obverse are not visible. On the reverse is the well-known reverse mark of the group—two crescents and two fish-like objects around a dot.
14.	1.6 × 1.42	1.952	III.A	Three minute marks on the reverse.
15.	1.85 × 2.0	1.331	III.A(a).x	Coin of thin fabric. The fifth mark is not visible. On the reverse are two marks, (i) three-arched hill with crescent, and (ii) treskelis.
16.	1.3 × 1.5	1.891	III.A(a).2	Only second and fifth symbols are identifiable.
17.	1.42 × 1.4	1.301	III.A(e).2	The sun symbol is not visible. The reverse symbol is not clear.
18.	1.4 × 1.25	1.625	do	The sun symbol is not visible. The reverse has the symbol—four taurines around a knob.

19.	1.3 × 1.4	2.04	III.A(d).x	The sun symbol is not visible. The form of the fifth symbol cannot be determined. The reverse symbol is not clear.
20.	Diam. 1.2	1.5735	do	do
21.	1.65 × 1.5	1.161	III.A(h).? (*BMC.*, 2. III. f)	This is a coin of medium fabric. The sun and the six-armed symbols are not visible. The coin is of a well-known variety, known in a number of hoards from the North. But no coin of this variety is known either in the three hoards of the Hyderabad Museum or in the big Amaravati hoard. Whether it exists in any of the hoards in the Madras Museum is not known. On the reverse is Caduceus.
22.	1.6 × 1.15	1.995	III.A(h).3	The second symbol is not visible. Caduceus on the reverse.
23.	Diam. 1.4	2.736	III.A(h).2	The second symbol is not visible. The reverse symbol is not clear.
24.	1.05 × 1.45	1.4195	III.A(h).x	The first, second and the fifth symbols are not visible. Caduceus on reverse.
25.	1.25 × 1.1	2.117	do	The first, second and fifth symbols are not visible. The reverse symbol is not clear.
26.	1.3 × 1.1	0.692	do	The coin is broken. First, third and fifth symbols are not visible. The reverse is not clear.

Since all the punch-marked coins of the hoard are of the known varieties, with the possible exception of coin no. 5, they hardly add anything to our knowledge. But the hoard as a whole has its own importance.

With the exception of two (nos. 26 and 27), all the punch-marked coins weigh from 17.19 grains to 42 grains. The coins by their appearance are much worn, and have lost a good deal of weight in course of circulation. Since the coins belong to the type of which the standard weight is considered to be 54 to 58 grains, the loss of 16 to 34 grains would have taken quite a long time. This is also supported by the associated Roman coins. The last known date of the Roman coin in the hoard is 117 A. D. So, it may be presumed that the hoard was deposited some time late in the second century A. D. But if we take the deposit in the nature of the bank, even then the date of the deposit of the coins in the hoard cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The earliest Roman coins in the hoard do not date earlier than 69 B. C.

Furthermore, although it was believed that Kerala had established her foreign relations in the remote past,[1] no direct evidence was so far available. The present find shows that Kerala had an extensive foreign and inland trade at a fairly early date.

An analysis of the composition of the hoard indicates that only 17% of the punch-marked coins belong to the pre-Mauryan period; the rest are of the Mauryan period. This shows that the coins of the Mauryan period were in extensive use. Whether these coins show any political influence of the Mauryas in Kerala or suggest mere brisk trade from the Northern India, is not easy to suggest. Probably both the factors are responsible for the preponderance of the Mauryan coins.

Amongst the Mauryan coins, 21% belong to Group III. A(c) and 17% to Group III.A(h). In one of his papers, Dr. P. L. Gupta has suggested the origin of these two groups of coins to Taxila and Madhyadeśa respectively, on the basis of the proportionate finds of different groups of coins. But to me, the composition of hoards, noticed by him from other parts of the country, does not appear to be very different from that of the present hoard. So, the principle of identifying the origin of these coins on the basis of composition of the hoard does not appear to be sound. It requires examination of a large number of hoards before a final opinion could be pronounced.

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[1] K. Menon, *Kerala Culture*, p. 87.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SO-CALLED *KHAḌGA-TRĀTĀ* COIN-TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

JAI PRAKASH

[Plate I]

The rhinoceros-slayer coin-type of Kumaragupta I is one of his rare types in gold. Four specimens of it were first described by the late Dr. A.S. Altekar.[1] Since the discovery of the Bayana Hoard three more specimens have been recovered and published in the earlier issues of this *Journal*.[2] The main purpose of the present note is to examine, at some length, certain observations made by Mr. S. V. Sohoni[3] towards the determination of the real nature of this coin-type.

Mr. Sohoni thinks that this coin-type has some religious belief as its background. He admits that the flesh and blood of the rhinoceros were highly valued during a *Śrāddha*,[4] yet he prefers to think "Kumāragupta I took only its horn,"[5] and styles this type as "the rhinoceros-protector type." In his opinion Kumāragupta I is shown on the obverse as "about to cut off the horn of a rhinoceros, but deliberately sparing that animal's life. He was a *Śriṅgaharttā* as well as a *Khaṅga-trātā*"[6] i.e., the protector of the rhinoceros. His observations are based on the following statement of S. H. Prater :

> "In Nepal the flesh and the blood of the rhinoceros is considered highly acceptable to the *Manes*. High caste Hindus and most Gurkhas offer libation of the animal's blood after entering its disembowelled body. On ordinary Sradh days the libation of water and milk is poured from a cup carved from its horn. The urine is considered antiseptic and is hung in a vessel at the principal door as a charm against ghosts, evil spirits and diseases. These beliefs connected with the rhinoceros are prevalent in varying form in Burma, Siam and China. They set a

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1. *BHC.*, pp. 296ff.
2. *JNSI.*, XI, pp. 9-10, pl. III. 7 ; ibid., XVII, pt. II, pp. 104-6, pl. IX. 5 ; ibid., XXII, pp. 180ff, pl. IX. 3.
3. *JNSI.*, XVIII, pt. II, pp. 178-186.
4. Ibid., p. 182.
5. Ibid., p. 184.
6. Ibid., XVIII, pt. II, p. 186.

great value upon the animal and provide the main reason for its persecution."[1]

Sohoni has selected only the third sentence of the above paragraph and possibly the following statement that the horns of the rhinoceros "grow throughout life and if lost are reproduced,"[2] in formulating his theory.

But we feel that this animal was not hunted exclusively for its horn. As it can be seen, there is nothing in Prater's statement to indicate that the life of the animal was spared. As for the religious significance of rhino-hunt connected with *Śrāddha* ceremony, we do not know the authority of Prater's statement. It may have been based on some local beliefs. There is no doubt sufficient evidence from very ancient texts to show the religious significance of rhinoceros in a *Śrāddha* ceremony. According to many texts,[3] while the flesh of certain animals served to the Brāhmaṇas results in the temporary satisfaction of the manes, the eating of the rhino flesh and some other things results in their permanent satisfaction. This literary tradition undoubtedly appears to be a strong one, and it may be suspected that rhino's flesh was sometimes actually served in a *Śrāddha* ceremony. It could not of course have been a common practice, for obvious reasons. But, for want of more definite evidence, we can not be quite sure that it was a common practice even amongst the higher and more influential sections of the society, especially when we consider that from the time of the *Upanishads*, Buddha and Mahavira itself, non-killing of animals and not taking of meat had been growing more and more popular. Aśoka gave further impulse to the idea. That it strongly affected the Brahmanical tradition is quite clear not only from the fact that Vedic sacrifices fell into comparative disuse and half-hearted attempts were made to justify animal killing in a Vedic sacrifice, but also from this that suitable adjustments were made in sacrificial prescriptions to avoid actual animal-killing. Brahmanical as well as other literature from very ancient date[1] extol the virtues of *ahiṁsā* and prohibit meat-eating. A certain apathy towards meat eating had grown quite strong by the Gupta period, and although vegetarianism may not have been the rule, meat-eating was probably not very common, especially amongst higher classes. But even if it is admitted for the sake of argument that rhinos meat was sometimes served in a *Srāddha* ceremony, being a special occasion, there could of course be no question of sparing the animal's life and hunting it only for its horn as Sohoni thinks. While he quotes[2] some of the texts to show the association of rhino with *Srāddha*, it is strange that he ignores this point.

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[1] *The Book of Indian Animals*, p. 192.

[2] Ibid., p. 191.

[3] *Āp. Dh. Sū.*, II, 7.17. 1-3 ; *Baudh. Gṛi. Sū.*, II, 11. 53-4 ; *Mbt.*, Anaśā., 88. 5-10 ; *Manusmṛiti*, III, 268-72 ; V. 27, 42 ; *Padma Purāṇa*, Srishti., 9. 152-159 ; *Vishnudharmottara Purāṇa*, I, 141, 42-52 ; *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, III, 16. 1-3 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 17, 31-36 ; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II, 20. 40-42. Cf. also, *Skanda Purāṇa*, Kāśi., 4, 14-20 ; *Agni Purāṇa*, 163. 1-32, 168. 20-21 ; *Padma Purāṇa*, Ādi., 56. 40-4 which also prescribes the meat of clean animals at *śrāddha* ; *Bṛi. Saṃ.*, XLVIII, 30.

But, whatever may have been the religious significance of rhino's flesh in a *Śrāddha* ceremony, it appears to me that Kumāragupta issued this type purely as a *mṛigayā* type or, what is more accurate, as following a numismatic tradition of his dynasty.[3] *Mṛigayā* coin-types, introduced by Samudragupta, were continued by Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, and became an important feature of the Gupta gold coinage.

In the following pages, we intend to consider some other points raised by Mr. Sohoni in his note on the coin-type under discussion.

Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṃśa*[4] refers to Daśaratha as removing the horns of the rhinoceroses by means of a *kshurapra*. Sohoni takes this statement of Kālidāsa to prove his hypothesis. But this description has no bearing, whatsoever, on the coin-type under discussion, primarily because it is only a poet's way of describing a scene full of action and at the same time eulogising his royal hero. To Sohoni, Kālidāsa's *kshurapra* is the weapon used to cut off the rhino's horn, and "even on our

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1. *Āp. Dh. Sū.*, I. 5. 16. 16, I. 5. 17. 29-37 ; *Vas. Dh. Sū.*, XIV. 30-37 ; *Baudh. Dh Sū*, I. 5. 12. 5 ; *Gaut. Dh. Sū.*, XVII. 16-31 ; *Manusmṛiti*, V. 11-18, V. 48, 53, in verse 95 flesh is called the diet of Rākshasas, Yakshas and Piśāchas, XI. 158 ; Aśoka prohibited the slaughter of all quadrupeds which are neither used nor eaten" including rhinoceros, Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 5th PE, p. 309 ; *Mbt.*, Śānti., 36. 21-24, Karṇa. 44. 11 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, 75. 38 ; Uttara Kāṇda (Ch. 59) refers that King Brahmadatta was cursed for serving flesh to a Brāhmaṇa ; *Mbt.* Śānti., 337.5 prohibits slaughter of animals even for sacrifices and states that only food grains should be offered ; Fa-hien quoted in *PHAI.*, p. 558 (6th edition) Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, p. 89 ; Al-Bîruni, ch. 68.
2. *JNSI.*, XVIII, pt. II, pp. 182-3.
3. *JNSI.*, XXIV, pt. II, pp. 152-163.
4. IX. 62 ; cf. also XI. 29.

coin there is a small curvature at the other extremity".[1] But we think that there is neither any such curvature in the weapon held by the king (see the enlarged photograph and drawing, **Pl. I. 4)** nor this weapon is identical with *kshurapra*.[2] Mallinātha, commenting on *Raghuvaṃśa* (IX. 62), defines *kshurapra* as *kshurapraiḥ śaraviśeshaiḥ chandrārdhabāṇairityarthaḥ*. Thus *kshurapra* was in fact a crescent-topped arrow, whereas what Kumāragupta holds is, as we shall see, a variety of the straight sword.[2] The two are entirely different from each other.

Similarly the depiction of Gaṅgā on the reverse of this type cannot be taken to have been intended to serve as a road to heaven.[3] For, if it were so, what would be the significance of depicting the same deity on the tiger-slayer coin-type of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I ?

Further, Mr. Sohoni thinks that this type of King Kumāragupta I was issued early in his reign, because "his hair are fuller on head here than on other coins. His figure is also more youthful."[4] But this point, we feel, can be best explained if the rhinoceros-slayer type is taken to be a *mṛigayā* type, as pointed out by me earlier.[5] We know from Kālidāsa, who is generally placed in the Gupta period, that kings along with their attendents used to put on a special dress[6] (*mṛigayāvesha*) while going on hunting. The practice of putting on a hunting dress matching with the colour of the forests was also known to the royal author of *Mānasollāsa*.[7] Therefore, the dress of the

1. *JNSI.*, XVIII, pt. II, p. 186.
2. Altekar, *BHC.*, p. cvii, and 296 ff ; ibid., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 198 ff ; Vidya Prakash, *JNSI.*, XXIII, p. 290, also takes it to be a sword.
3. *JNSI.*, XVIII, pt.II, p. 186.
4. *JNSI.*, XVIII, pt. II, p. 186.
5. *JNSI.*, XXIV, pt. II, p. 152-163.
6. In *Śākuntalam*, King Dushyanta orders his attendents thus: *Apanayantu bhavatyo mṛigayāveśam* (Act. II). In *Raghuvaṃśa* (IX. 50) Daśaratha is styled as *mṛigavanopagamakshamavesha*, and as *Grathitamaulirasau vanamālayā tarupalāśa-savarnatanuchhadaḥ*, (IX.51).
7. हरितांशुककूर्पाणै(सै)र्हरितां शुकशेखरैः ।
   कङ्गुपारा(ङ्कपत्र)प्रवृद्धाभिर्हेतुभा(र्होतिभि)श्चापधारिभिः ॥
   तीक्ष्णसाहस(यक) हस्तैश्च कैश्चिद्द्वीपमृगान्वितैः ।
   समागत्य पटस्थानं नीलाम्बरपरिच्छदम् ॥
   तु(तू)लगर्भां तथा मृद्वीं गद्दिकां गर्तमात्रिकाम् ।
   किञ्चिन्मध्यात्पुरोभागे शय्यां मध्यां (मध्ये) निवेशयेत् ॥
   श्यामलान्युपधानानि हरिता द्विपदीस्तथा ।
   गर्तस्य पश्चिमां भित्ति छादयेन्नीलवाससा ॥
   Mānasollāsa, IV. 15. 1468-1471.

Gupta kings on their *mrigayā* type of coins can well be taken to be the same as the hunting suit known from literature. And what Sohoni takes to be the 'plentiful hair' of Kumāragupta I, may probably be the *Grathitamaulirasau Vanamālayā* type of headdress. Hence, the rhinoceros-slayer type need not have been issued early in the reign of its issuer. On the contrary, it was probably issued comparatively later in his reign. And it is due mainly to this fact that so far we have recovered only a few specimens of this type. Had it been issued earlier it would have been found in larger numbers in the Bayana Hoard.

In order to clarify the *mrigayā* nature of the rhinoceros-slayer type, we intend to point out a few more details from certain texts. Someśvara prohibits the hunting of rhino[1] and some other animals. Had it been considered so valuable for the performance of the *Srāddha*, the author of *Mānsollāsa* would certainly have prescribed its hunting. But as he makes no such reference, it seems that at least in south, the flesh of the rhino was usually not served. And his prohibition of its hunting indicates that it was listed along with such wild animals as tigers and bears and its hunting was prohibited primarily as a precautionary measure to save the person of the king.

However, on the basis of *Syainikaśāstraṃ* of king Rudradeva of Kūrmānchala (Kumaon), a very late work (13th to 16th century A.D.), it seems that hunting from horse-back gives much pleasure (III. 17). Concerning the rhino hunt, king Rudradeva states that five or six men are enough for hunting rhinoceroses. The horses of the hunters should be quiet and well-trained in the swiftness of motion. The animal should be struck with small darts (*kshudraśakti*) in quick succession on its back. And if it turns back, the horsemen should run to front

[1] निमज्जनाज्जलस्यान्त(ः)प्रवेशाच्च बिलान्तरे ।
गवयस्याच्छभल्लस्य व्याघ्रस्य महिषस्य च ॥
खड्गस्य मृगयात्यर्थं प्रसा (मा) दबहु (ला) यतः ।
तस्मादेषा विवर्ज्या स्यात् धीमतां पृथिवीभुजाम् ॥

Mānasollāsa, IV. 15. 1451-52.

and others should strike it from behind.[1] It is noteworthy that Kumāragupta is clearly shown about to strike the animal from behind **(Pl. I. 4)**. The pictorial suggestion of Sohoni is highly conjectural. The *kshudraśakti* weapon mentioned in *Syainika-śāstram* is probably the same as the *śakti* weapon mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta[2] and *Raghuvaṃśa*[3] of Kālidāsa. Mallinātha explains *śakti* as *śaktyā kāsūnāmakenāyudhena* and refers the authority of *Amarakosha* as *kāsūsāmarthyayoḥ śaktiḥ*. *Śakti* is generally taken to be a spear or javelin.[4] But the weapon in Kumāragupta's hand which he seems to be in a mood to thrust in the back of the rhino in quick succession seems to be a straight and pointed sword-like object. And if this straight sword of Kumāragupta has anything to do with the (*kshudra*)*śakti* of Rudradeva, its identification with spear becomes improbable. The object with which Kumāragupta I has been depicted hunting the rhino in all probability is a sword (*khaḍga*) as it is specifically styled as such on the obverse and reverse inscriptions.

Sohoni's view that [*Bhar*]*ttā* is meaningless and should be replaced by [*Har*]*ttā*[5] does not seem to be correct. As we have shown, Kumāragupta was not hunting the rhinoceros only for its horn. Further, the word *khaḍgatrātā* in the coin legend does not appear to mean the protector of the rhinoceros, and the type in question should not be named as such. The rhino, being a harmless creature, cannot be taken as a justification for the king to spare its life. Kumāragupta was hunting the rhinoceros and not sparing its life, and thus the whole of the coin legend, as pointed out by Altekar, makes a pun (*BHC.*, p. cix) on the word *khaḍga*. The reverse legend also, I feel, should be understood in the same context. *Srī mahendrakhaḍgaḥ* should probably be translated as 'the illustrious sword (or rhinoceros) Mahendra', and not as 'Rhinoceros (killed by) Mahendra' as done by Altekar (*BHC.*, p. cviii).

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[1] सम्भूय सावकाशेन प्रसाय्यनिलसम्मुखम् ।
बलं मृगाभिसारेण सानायासेन सिध्यति ॥
खड्गाभिसरणे शस्तः पश्चषा एव सादिनः ॥
वश्यास्तुरङ्गाः शस्यन्ते शिक्षिता ये गतागते ।
त्वरया पृष्ठतो वेध्यः क्षुद्रशक्त्या तु सादिना ॥
परावृत्तो यदि भवेत्तदास्य पुरयायिना ।
विश्रम्भात्तु निजाश्वस्य सादिना भाव्यमञ्जसा ॥
तस्याभिसारे चान्येन वेध्यो भवति पृष्ठतः ।
अथवा पार्श्वतो बाणैर्वेध्यः श्रेष्ठधनुर्द्धरैः ॥

Syainikaśāstram, III. 36-40.

[2] D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 256.

[3] XII, 77.

[4] Vidya Prakash, *JNSI.*, XXIII, p. 287.

[5] *JNSI.*, XVIII, pt. II, p. 184.

But even if, for the sake of argument, Sohoni's view is accepted for a moment, some difficulties arise. First of all, if we believe that this type was issued during the *Srāddha* of Kumāragupta's father, can we say that Kumāragupta was the only Gupta king who loved his father, or were not Samudragupta and Chandragupta II interested in obtaining permanent peace for their immediate ancestors, or were not they strong and skilful enough to hunt a rhino to fulfil the *Śrāddha* requirements; and if they performed the *Srāddha* of their *pitṛis* and fed the Brāhmaṇas with rhino's flesh, why did they fail to issue coins of a similar content? These are some of the questions which will have to be answered before finally accepting the view of Mr. Sohoni and rejecting the *mṛigayā* character of the rhinoceros-slayer type of Kumāragupta I.

GADHIA COINS FROM NIMAR EAST (M.P.)

C. KRISHNA

[Plate I]

The different types of Gadhia coins described here have been discovered at a small village Mohania Khurd located on the Lat. 22.4 N. and Long. 76.37 E. in the Harsud tehsil of East Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh.[1] These coins have been found in a hoard at a depth of 1.22 ms. while digging the excavation trenches for the construction of a building in the inhabited area of the village. The hoard contained more than 200 of copper mixed silver coins, out of which only hundred coins collected have been described below. These coins vary in type, weight and size. A few lead coins were also in the hoard. Most of them are round in shape with a diameter ranging from 0.47″ to 0.68″. They can be broadly classified into following types based on the designs.

(a) Bust of King to r. within dotted border on obverse, and *Srī Oṁkāra* in two lines in Nagari on reverse.[2] Number—57. **(Pl. I. 7 & 9).**

(b) Bust of King to r. within dotted border on obverse, and only *Om* in Nagari on reverse.[3] Number—12. **(Pl. I. 10).**

(c) Bust of King to r. and a Nagari letter *Ma* on obverse, and an incomplete circle or something like a wheel on reverse.[4] Number—21. **(Pl. I. 12-13).**

(d) Bust of King to r. on obverse, and debased fire-altar and attendants on reverse.[5] Number—1. **(Pl. I. 5-6).**

(e) Bust or head of King to r., in front bull-standard,* behind trident on obverse,* and more debased fire-altar and attendants on the reverse. This is like an Indian imitation of Sassanian coin in Brown's Plate VI, fig. 6. Number—2. **(Pl. I. 11).**

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[1] *Indian Archæology, A Review.* 1961-62.
[2] *JNSI.*, XIII, pt. II, p. 205.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, pl. VI, fig. 8, pp. 38-32.

*[These are not clear in the illustration.—*Editor.*]

(f) Head of King to r. with clear features in profile on obverse, and on reverse, in one coin, star with fire-altar, and in two, star mark with dots and lines and two brackets, and sun expressed by seven dots around the dot and moon expressed by a small circle which is sometimes incomplete as in the reverse of the above Uruli coins.[1] Number—3. **(Pl. I. 8).**

(g) Bust of King to r. with a letter *Ma* as in the type 'a' but oblong in plan on obverse, and *Om* on reverse.[2] Number—1. **(Pl. I. 15).**

(h) Bust of King with letter *Ma* in Nagari on obverse and three or four lines with dots at their end on reverse. Number—3. **(Pl. I. 16).**

A full understanding of this coinage is still to be done in the light of the large collection of coins made in the past few years. Such varieties of coins have already been reported from the States such as Saurashtra,[3] Madhya Pradesh[4] and Maharashtra.[5]

Traditionally these coins have been ascribed to Gardhabhilla, who is mentioned in the Jain tradition dated to 1st century B.C.[6] Scholars like Cunningham, Bhagavanlal Indraji and Taylor have thrown more light on these coins. These coins are also identified with the Indo-Sassanians.[7] In Gujarat they are popularly known as GADHIA PAISA.[8] According to Wilford, Gardabhi is the name of a Sassanian dynasty, and so he has identified him with Varaharan Gur (420 A. D.). According to Taylor, the latter was fond of hunting wild ass and the Hūṇas in derision might have called his coinage as 'Ass Money'.[9]

Bhagvanlal Indraji arrived at the chronological range of these coins by a process of elimination.[10] Since the Gadhias were current in Gujarat and Malwa upto the beginning of the

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1. *JNSI.*, VII, p. 18, pl. III. 11.
2. *JNSI.*, XIII, pl. II, p. 205.
3. B. Subbarao, *Baroda Through the Ages*, p. 79.
4. H. V. Trivedi, "*Numismatic Notes*", *JNSI.*, XII, pt. II, p. 205.
5. P.J. Chinmulgund, "*Numismatic Notes*", *JNSI.*, VII, p. 21.
6. *Baroda Through the Ages*, p. 79.
7. *JNSI.*, VIII, pt. II, p. 157.
8. *Baroda Through the Ages*, p. 79.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 81.

Muslim rule,[1] and the present collection includes most of the early types, it may be dated probably from the 5th century to the 12th century A. D. If the well-conceived theory based on palaeography is taken into consideration, the coins with the legend *Om* and *Oṁkāra* may be placed in 10th to 12th century A.D., as suggested by H. V. Trivedi.[2]

The discovery of some of the coins identical to those described by D. B. Diskalkar may lend further support to his theory as stated by A.S. Altekar in the editorial note.[3]

The discovery of the present coins bearing the same legend, *Oṁkāra* or *Om* on the reverse and *Ma* on obverse, with the bust of the King, definitely shows that they are identical with the coins described by H. V. Trivedi[4] and the reference to Omkara Mandatha may be quite possible as the present place of discovery is about 100 miles from Omkara Mandatha and both are in Madhya Pradesh and in the same District falling in the southern Malwa. There is also a possibility that these coins with *Oṁkāra* might have been issued from Malwa, as Māhishmatī is known to have been the capital of the southern Malwa. This large hoard bearing the above design on majority of the coins very much strengthens the earlier opinion on the subject.

As suggested by V. A. Smith,[5] the present collection falls into three sizes except one which is oblong. It is common that the thickness varies; the larger the coin, the lesser is the thickness.

It was previously believed that the Gadhia coins were not in common use in Deccan but the earlier disvovery of similar coins in Malwa adds further to the theory of existence of Gadhia coins beyond Narmada and in south Malwa. The coin type "f" showing a very clear head quite unlike the button-shaped head of later coins may be dated to the end of 8th century A. D. as suggested by Chinmulgund[6] and reflect on the theory of use of similar Gadhia coins during the rule of Rāshṭrakūṭas.

A few coins from the present collection have been scientifically cleaned by the Archaeological Survey of India and its report, which is still awaited, may throw some more light on the subject.

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1. Ibid., p. 81.
2. *JNSI.*, VIII, pt. I, p. 71.
3. Ibid.
4. *JNSI.*, XIII, pt. II, p. 206.
5. *IMC.*, pp. 240-241.
6. *JNSI.*, VII, pt. I, p. 21.

COUNTERMARKED MUGHAL AND SURI COINS

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plate IV]

Attention was first directed to these coins when a 'dam' of the Delhi Sultan, Islam Shah (A. H. 952-960., A. D. 1545-1553) came into my possession. It it worn, weighs 296.4 grains, and has an indistinct countermark reading "Adl Kabul", within a lined square. **(Pl. IV. 1).**

Dr. P. L. Gupta of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, who was working on Mughal coins in the British Museum, made an attempt to read the inscription but was not very successful due to the way the countermark was affixed.

Some time later he found two other countermarked coins in the British Museum collection. The first, a 'dam' of Akbar, of Urdu-zafar-qarin mint, weighing 310.7 grains has a countermark reading "Adl Kabul", within a lined octagon. **(Pl. IV. 3).** The second is a 'dirham' of Humayun of Lahore mint, dated A. H. 946 with two countermarks. One reading "Muhammad Shah", is enclosed in a square frame. The second is within an ornamental frame and reads "Adl Kabul" with some additional indistinct symbols, or figures. **(Pl. IV. 2).**

With the finding of these three countermarked coins, it was apparent that at some period in the Mughal rule the necessity had arisen to countermark some of their coins. It may be assumed these countermarks were not affixed by Mughal rulers on the coins of their predecessors, as it was not ordinarily the practice for them to call in their predecessors coins for reissue or countermarking. (See R. B. Whitehead—*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II, page XXI of the 'Introduction'). The necessity to countermark coins of a particular mint for use in another area would also appear to be unnecessary as Mughal coins from most mints circulated freely throughout their territory.

Dr. R. B. Whitehead's *Catalogue*, which has been mentioned in the previous paragraph, was referred to as it was thought some information may exist on the point; with the possibility that similar coins may also have been noticed and included by him.

Two very interesting countermarks are listed by him. The first on a silver coin of Babur, weighing 70 grains, similar to coin No. 22 on page 6 of the *Catalogue*. It is included under Humayun as No. 55 on page 11. The countermark is on the reverse and reads "Adl Kabul. 961" and is contained within a symmetrical eight-sided area. The coin is unfortunately not illustrated. It must be presumed it has been included under Humayun as the date of the countermark is A. H. 961. The fact that Humayun had been defeated and lost his kigndom to Sher Shah Suri in A. H. 947 and did not recover the sovereignty of Hindustan till A. H. 962, does not appear to have been considered when cataloguing the coin, although a note to this effect has been added at the foot of page 9 of the same *Catalogue*.

The second coin is of copper, weighs 133 grains, is No. 97 on page 15 and is again included under Humayun. The countermark is "Adl Kandahar", in a lined octagon on the obverse and is on a coin of Humayun of Agra Daru-l-Khilafat mint, No. 77 on page 13 of the *Catalogue* and is dated A. H. 937. The same date appears against the entry on page 15, where it is listed under Kandahar.

In this instance, Dr. Whitehead has added a note at the foot of page 15 which reads: "Counterstruck on a dated coin of Humayun, so can, I think, be reasonably considered a coin of Humayun struck at Qandahar, though of course the exact period of the counterstriking cannot be certain".

Dr. Whitehead must refer to the countermark Kandahar, although he has stated "struck at Qandahar" in the note.

In addition to the two coins mentioned, there are two others which are quite as interesting, although they have not been countermarked. These coins are Nos. 53 and 54 on page 11 of the *Catalogue*. Both are of silver, of Kabul mint, weigh 72 grains, and are dated A. H. 952 and 953 respectively. It is not clear how Humayun issued coins in his name during the period of his expulsion and it would have been of interest to have had a note in the *Catalogue* explaining the circumstances.

An explanation for these two coins, and the other countermarked ones, will be attempted, but it is considered necessary to first furnish information from two sources which help in an understanding of the situation at about this period.

The first source is the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV, 1908, which outlines the 'Persian-Mughal' situation, particularly with reference to the conflict between them and its connection with Kabul and Kandahar.

The next is the *Encyclopaedia of Cronology* by Woodward and Gates, which furnishes detailed information with dates covering most of the episodes in the life of Humayun and and in particular the period of his flight from Delhi to the time of his return.

From the *Gazetteer* it is seen that Babur made himself master of Kabul in A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504) and that he continued to reign at Kabul for twenty years before invading Hindustan. On Babur's death Kabul passed to his younger son Kamran, who, after several attacks on his brother Humayun, was defeated and blinded by him, A. H. 961 (A. D. 1553). Humayun left Kabul to his infant son, Mirza Hakim, on whose death in A. H. 993 (A. D. 1585), it passed to the latters elder brother, Akbar. From this time up to its capture by Nadir Shah (A. D. 1738) it was held by the Mughal Emperors of India. From the Persian Nadir Shah it passed to Ahmad Shah Durrani (A. H. 1160-1186., A. D. 1747-1772), whose son, Timur, made it the capital of his kingdom.

Kandahar was recovered from the Timurids by Babur. After his death it was a constant subject of contention between the Mughals and the Persians and after being captured and recaptured several times by one or the other, it finally passed out of Mughal possession in A. H. 1058 (A. D. 1648).

Encyclopaedia of Cronology—Humayun, Emperor of Hindustan, page 725

"Born at Kabul A. D. 1509—accompanied his father Babar into India A. D. 1526—named Governor of Badekhan: Succeeds Babar A. H. 937 (A. D. 1530)—gives up Punjab to his brother Kamran ; quarrels with Bahadur Shah A. H. 940 (A. D. 1532)—conquers Guzerat, Nov. A. D. 1534 to Aug. A.D. 1535—loses it, A. D. 1535-36—marches against Shir Khan, probably Saphar, A. H. 944 (Jul. A. D. 1537)—besieges and takes Chunar A. D. 1538—Takes Gour, probably Jun. or Jul. A. D. 1538—loses Chunar and retreats: surprised and defeated by Sher Khan at Kanouj, 16 May A. D. 1540—escapes to Kamran at Lahore, Jul. A. D. 1540—deserted by Kamran, makes attempt on Scinde, A. D. 1540-41—finds refuge at Amercot, A. D. 1542—renews attempt on Scinde, Oct. A. D. 1542—retires to Kandahar, A. D. 1543—escapes to Persia, A. D. 1544—with Persian forces takes Kandahar, Sep. A. D. 1545—takes Kabul, winter of A. D. 1545-46—recovers it from Kamran, Apr. A. D. 1547—invades Balk, Spring A. D. 1549—defeated by Kamran and deserted by his army, A. D. 1550—defeats Kamran and recovers Kabul, A. D. 1551—Kamran betrayed to him and blinded A. D. 1553—invades the Punjab, Jan. A. D. 1555—takes Delhi and Agra about Jul. A. D. 1555—died at Delhi Jan. A. D. 1556."

An attempt will next be made to account for the coins referred to in the note.

(1) The silver 'dirham' of Babur, No. 22 in Dr. Whitehead's *Catalogue*, with its countermark "Adl Kabul 961", which is included under Humayun, No. 55 on page 11, will be considered first as it is the only coin in which the countermark is dated.

The year A. H. 961. (A. D. 1553/54) is important as it is seen from the *Encyclopaedia of Cronology* that Humayun was in occupation of Kabul from A. D. 1551 and had his brother Kamran blinded in A. D. 1553. Probably after his brother was blinded he considered his position sufficiently secure to order the countermarking of coins in circulation and in the treasuries. The year A. H. 961 is covered by the reign of the Persian ruler Tahmasp I. (A. H. 930-984, A. D. 1524-1576.) and the countermarking may possibly have been carried out on his instructions, as Humayun had merely captured Kabul at the head of a Persian force.

(2) The silver 'dirham' of Humayun of Lahore mint, dated A. H. 946 (A. D. 1539), **Pl. IV. 2**, with two countermarks reading (a) "Muhammad Shah" and (b) "Adl Kabul" with some additional symbols, or figures, must have been countermarked at about the same time. The earliest countermark may possibly be the one with "Adl Kabul" and could have been affixed in the reign of Tahmasp I. The other countermark "Muhammad Shah" is not quite as easy to explain, but may have been affixed in the reign of the Persian ruler Muhammad Khudabanda (A.H. 985-995, A.D. 1577-1587). It is also possible that both countermarks may have been affixed at the sametime as the countermark "Adl Kabul" will be shown to have been used by Muhammad Khudabanda on the coins of Akbar.

(3) The next in importance is a copper coin of Kandahar mint, weighing 133 grains, catalogued by Dr. Whitehead as No. 97 on page 15, under Humayun. The countermark "Adl Kandahar" would suggest a date in A. D. 1545, when it is recorded Humayun, with the assistance of the Persian forces, took the town. The authority under whose orders the countermarking was carried out would once more appear to be Tahmasp I.

(4) The 'dam' of the Delhi Sultan, Islam Shah (A. H. 952-960, A. D. 1545-1553), **Pl. IV. 1**, weighing 296.4 grains,

with the countermark "Adl Kabul", could have been issued in the winter of A.D. 1545-1546, or in the period A.D. 1547-1550, or again in the period A.D. 1551-1553 ; after Humayun had defeated his brother Kamran and had him blinded. It is presumed once again that this countermarking was undertaken on behalf of the Persian ruler Tahmasp I.

(5) The 'dam' of Akbar (A.H. 963-1014, A. D. 1556-1605) of Urdu-zafar-qarin mint, **Pl. IV. 3**, weighing 310.7 grains, could not have been struck before the year A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576), the earliest date furnished for coins of this mint by Dr. Whitehead in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II, page XXXIX of the 'Introduction'.

It must be assumed the countermark was affixed in the time of the Persian ruler Muhammad Khudabanda as it is unlikely it could have been struck in A. H. 984 and travelled to Afghanistan and been countermarked before the death of Tahmasp I in the year A.H. 984.

The "Adl Kabul" countermark and its similarity to the earlier coins would tend to confirm that all the coins under reference were countermarked by the Persians and not by the Mughals.

(6) Perhaps the two most difficult silver coins to explain are Dr. Whitehead's Nos. 53 and 54 on page 11 of his *Catalogue*. They are dated A. H. 952 and 953 respectively and are of Kabul mint. It is known that Humayun, with the help of the Persian forces, took Kabul in the winter of A.D. 1545/46 and apparently lost it shortly after, as we see he is reported as having recovered it once more in April A.D. 1547. What is not clear is the authority under which Humayun would have taken the responsibility to order coins to be struck in his own name in A.D. 1545, and again in A.D. 1546, as it is almost certain he was not acting on his own at this time as he was merely leading the Persian forces in one of their frequent attacks against the Mughals in Afghanistan.

It cannot be said that Humayun could have considered he was the ruler of Hindustan, or the reigning Mughal at this time, as it is recorded that he only invaded the Punjab in January A. D. 1555 and took Delhi in July of the same year.

(7) Finally a copper coin in the writer's collection is included in this note as it may possibly have been countermarked in Afghanistan, or India, by a Persian or Afghan ruler. The coin, which is worn, is illustrated, **Pl. IV. 4**, and has a countermark reading "Raij" (Current) in a circular incuse on the reverse. It weighs 217.2 grains and may be a coin of either

Akbar; or of Jahangir, of Kabul mint, struck on an earlier coin of Akbar; or it may only be a double struck coin of Jahangir. Dr. Whitehead's coin No. 1208, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II, page 171, and Pl. VIII, of Jahangir, of Kabul mint, weight 222.0 grains, is similar to this coin.

Dr. Whitehead in the 'Introduction' to his *Catalogue*, page XXIV, states that Nadir Shah, the Persian ruler, invaded India in the reign of the Mughal, Muhammad Shah (A. B. 1131-1161, A. D. 1719-1748) and sacked Delhi. He also mentions that Nadir Shah struck coins at a few places in India, including the capital, and that Ahmad Shah Durrani (A. H. 1160-1186, A. D. 1747-1772), the successor of Nadir Shah, overran India in the time of the Mughal, Ahmad Shah Bahadur (A. H. 1161-1167, A. D. 1748-1754).

Either of these rulers could have ordered the countermarking of Mughal coins in circulation in the areas overrun by them at the time of their invasions.

The word "Raij" occurs in inscriptions on some Persian coins and its use as a countermark on Mughal coins would not be unusual under the circumstances.

It is unlikey the coins were countermarked by a Mughal ruler, as Dr. Whitehead, on page XXI of his 'Introduction', has pointed out that the Mughals did not call in the currency of their predecessors and in consequence the issues of Sher Shah and Akbar seemed to have satisfied the need for copper money down to the end of the dynasty.

In amplification of the suggestion made in the first sentence of para. 7, a possible explanation for coins with countermarks without mint names or dates is found in an account of the "Itinerary of a Journey from Persia to Kabul made in the Year 1826 by Claude Auguste Court" in Appendix III "European Adventurers of Northern India 1785 to 1849 by C. Grey and H. L. O. Garrett. 1929."

Court was a General of the Khalsa Army, an Honorary General of France and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of England and a member of many Continental Scientific and Learned Societies. He was born at Grasse on the Mediterranean Coast of France in the year 1793.

On page XLIII of the Appendix he states that Kandahar was governed from 1818 by five brothers and goes on to state :

"The government is despotic and will commit any crime or outrage to obtain money. For a subject to be rich, or to be even suspected of being so, is a crime punishable with confiscation of goods and money, the culprit being fortunate to escape with his life. The local currency is silver, but what is in circulation consists mostly of copper, for the silver coinage has been so debased that people are very chary of accepting it. Foreign traders must have all their coins stamped by the local government, who charge them fifty percent for the operation. Any foreign money not so stamped is confiscated."

I must thank Dr. John Walker, the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, for permission to publish certain coins in the National Collection, as also for his assistance in the preparation of the casts of the coins which are illustrated in the plate accompanying the note.

SILVER COINS OF SURAT MINT WITH REGNAL YEARS LATER THAN THE FORTY-NINTH, OR LAST, YEAR OF SHAH ALAM II

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plate IV]

On **Plate IV,** nos. **5** to **8,** are illustrated four silver coins of Surat mint issued in the name of Shah Alam II (A. H. 1173-1221, A. D. 1759-1806) with regnal years 51 to 54, when in fact the Mughal ruler had died in A. H. 1221, in the forty-ninth year of his reign.

These regnal years correspond with the Hijra years 1224 to 1227, or A. D. 1809 to 1812. The coins resemble the existing Surat rupees of the East India Company, but can be distinguished from the coins of the English by the shape of the Arabic letters in the inscriptions and the fact that the fixed regnal year 46, used by the English Company, has been replaced by regnal years which do not apply to the reign of Shah Alam II as he died in the forty-ninth year of his reign.

Certain differences in Surat rupees were noticed and referred to by Dr. G. P. Taylor in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume XXII, pp. 245 to 272, and his remarks will be repeated for easy reference.

> "In A.H. 1215 (A.D. 1800), if not indeed earlier, the East India Company's mint at Bombay struck "Surat" muhrs and rupees but the evidence from coins still occasionally to be obtained in the bazars precludes the inference that in that year the Mughal coinage ceased to issue from the Surat mint. It would seem to have lingered on for a few more years, though doubtless the output was small. My cabinet contains a rupee of the regnal year 46 of make quite different from the familiar '46 San rupee' issued by the H.E.I. Company; also another rupee of distinctly native workmanship, yet bearing as its date so late a regnal year as 49, the very last year of Shah Alam's reign."

It would appear from this note that Dr. Taylor had not seen rupees, and coins of smaller denomination, with regnal years 51, 52, 53, and 54.

Before continuing it may be desirable to dispose of the suggestion of Mughal origin for these coins as no Mughal mint would have been operating at this time, and to look for some other authority that could have been responsible for them.

The two most likely are the Marathas and the French and it will be useful to examine the claims of both from any evidence that may be available.

With the break up of the Mughal rule in India, between the years A.D. 1700 and 1750, the power of the Marathas increased rapidly, with the result that they and the Peshwas, or 'Mayors of the Palace', eventually dominated most of the smaller Hindu rulers in Northern and Central India.

By A.D. 1795 the Maratha confederation had reached its maximum extent and literally dominated all Central India.

This power was broken by the Afghan, Ahmad Shah, at Panipat, in A.D, 1761, but it was not until the defeat by the British in A.D. 1818 that the confederacy was dissolved.

Dr. John Allan in a descriptive note, when considering the Maratha States, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, has been quoted in the preceding paragraph. He also states that the Maratha ruler Shahu set up a mint at Satara from which gold, silver and copper coins were issued, but that after his death (A.D. 1749) it was transferred to Poona by the Peshwas. It is further stated that the mint at Poona was finally closed in A.D. 1835 and the Bagalkot and Sri Sikka rupees of Kolaba withdrawn from circulation.

Dr. Allan when considering a rupee of Surat mint which he catalogued on pp. 210 and 211 and illustrated in Plate XII, No. 13, of the *Indian Museum Catalogue*, states :

> "As, however, the Marathas were in power at this period (A. D. 1719-1748) up to the very walls of Surat, it is more than probable that these coins were struck by them as the mint-mark suggests."

The rupees referred to in my note are without mint-marks and are in the name of Shah Alam II and could have been issued from Poona or any one of the Maratha mints near Surat.

Maratha rupees generally appear to be lighter than rupees of the East India Company. Coins catalogued by Dr. Allan vary from 166 to 172 grains. There are exceptions however in the rupees of Nipani which are from 176 to 178 grains ; Wai, 171 to 175 grains and Poona, 173 grains.

The rupee of Surat catalogued by Dr. Allan on page 211 is only 166 grains. This is under weight, but the illustration, Pl. XII, No. 13, shows it has a flan of smaller diameter than most Maratha coins and it may have been clipped and would account for its light weight.

Under "Miscellaneous Maratha Mints", in Dr. Allan's *Catalogue*, pages 348 to 355, a certain similarity in the regnal years on the coins to those under reference is seen. Under Jhansi, page 347, rupees Nos. 10 to 13 have regnal years in the fifties; coin No. 12 being 52. In his particulars of coins from the mint of Jalaun six coins, Nos. 9 to 14, have regnal years of 52 and 55. Under Saugor, rupees Nos. 17 and 18, have regnal years 52 and 55 respectively.

Finally the silver coins in the name of Ahmad Shah Bahadur of Katak (Cuttack) mint included by Dr. Whitehead in the *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, pages 358 and 359, have to be considered as they are of Maratha mintage, as stated in his note in connection with coin No. 2699, and were issued in the period A. D. 1757-1803, when Orissa was a Maratha province.

Dr. Whitehead's coins Nos. 2697 and 2698 are shown as having the regnal years 5, but the writer has a similar coin in which the regnal year is 51 and it would seem that all his coins, Nos. 2697 to 2705, are of Maratha mintage.

They are similar, in respect of the regnal years, to the coins which are referred to in this note and there are certain other similarities in the general appearance of the Katak and Surat coins.

The coins catalogued by Dr. Whitehead are however in the name of Ahmad Shah Bahadur, while the coins described in this note are in the name of Shah Alam II and do not have the name of a mint which can be read as Katak. One of the coins, **Pl. IV. 7**, has part of the mint name Surat visible and this shows they are not Maratha coins of Katak mint.

The Marathas had control of the West Coast of India at this time and must have been competing with the European Companies in the coastal trade. The rupees now being considered may have been specially designed and issued for this trade from one of their mints in the territory.

The suggestion of a French origin will next be examined as it is essential we consider both possibilities where no documentary evidence appears to exist that could help in establishing the authority responsible for them.

On page 28 of *Monnaies Francaises des Colonies et de la Metropole* by V. Guilloteau, it is stated that in the period

A. D. 1763-1814 France lost her territories Chandernagore, Yanaon, Pondicherry, Karikal, and Mahe, to the British.

It is also stated that she retained her trading settlements of Surate, Calicut, Mazulipatam, Balassore, Cassim-Bazar, Patna, Dacca and Yougdia, unarmed and non-fortified. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris on the 30th May 1814 she regained possession of the five territories she had lost.

With the loss of Pondicherry and the consequent closure of its mint the French possibly started operating a mint at Surat and the four coins, covering the period A. D. 1809 to 1812, with regnal years 51, 52, 53, and 54, could be some of the coins which enabled them to meet their requirements for their trade settlements.

It may possibly have been considered advisable to copy the existing currency of the English East India Company except in respect of the fixed date and regnal year. They would consequently issue coins with regnal years linked with what would have been the regnal years of Shah Alam II, and these regnal years would correspond with the actual Hijra year in which the coins were issued.

In conclusion the facts referred to in the note will be summarised before hazarding a suggestion regarding the authority responsible for them.

Maratha

(1) General appearance and badly formed characters of the inscriptions resemble many of the coins issued by the Marathas in the name of the Mughal rulers.

(2) The weights agree in general with similar coins of the European powers, but are slightly higher than most Maratha coins of the period.

(3) The absence of mint-marks would tend to rule out a Maratha origin. This could however have been done intentionally to assist in their acceptance by making them resemble the coins of the English East India Company.

(4) Coins for Surat were struck by the Marathas and are catalogued and illustrated by Nelson Wright in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* page 243, Nos. 2079 to 2081, of 170 to 172 grains, with an inverted Nagari character and another small symbol on its right. Allan in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* Vol. IV, pages 210 and 211, also catalogues and illustrates a coin similar to Nelson Wright's. There would therefore be no necessity for

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another series, without mint marks, to be issued about 25 years later.

French

(1) They could not have requested the English to coin money for them at their mints at Surat or Bombay due to the hostility that existed. Their mint at Pondicherry would have closed with the occupation by the English and the natural assumption must be that a mint was established by them at Surat.

(2) In appearance and weight the coins resemble those of the English East India Company of Surat. This would have been necessary to ensure a ready acceptance of the French coins in the area.

(3) The French did not resort to the practice of having fixed dates and regnal years on their coinage to prevent money changers charging discount. They were in the habit of dating their coins to agree with the year of issue and in doing so assigned a regnal year, even though it did not always represent the actual regnal year of the Mughal ruler in whose name they were issued.

On balance it would seem to be correct to assign these and similar coins to the French rather than to the Marathas.

Particulars of the Coins Illustrated

1.	Ꞧ	Rupee	Date. ?	R.Y. 51	Wt. 178.6 grains. (Pl. IV. 5)
2.	,,	Half Rupee	?	52	89.0 grains. (Pl IV. 6)
3.	,,	Rupee	?	53	178.1 grains. (Pl. IV. 7)
4.	,,	Rupee	1227	54	177.3 grains. (Pl. IV. 8)

PANJNAGAR OR BHUJNAGAR OR WHAT ?

C. R. SINGHAL

[Plate II]

Under Mint Notes of the *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins,* Whitehead writes: "The mint-name Panjnagar was read by C. J. Rodgers on a single half rupee of Jahāngīr of the early Kalima type—coin No. 1001. This reading is to some extent tentative, as the place is unknown, but no other name suggests itself."

On this mint, Hodivala wrote an article.[1] He first tried to identify this mint with Punch in Kashmir because this place was frequently visited by Jahāngīr. But after going into the pros and cons of this matter, he came to realize that the "true reading is still to seek, and I have written these lines only in the hope that they may help towards a satisfactory identification if the present reading is proved to be correct."

In another article[2], the learned Professor made another attempt to identify this mint. He very ably tried to prove that this half rupee of Jahāngīr closely resembles in all respects with his other issues of Ahmadnagar and Zafarnagar mints and that these coins are all connected closely in some way with one another.

If it is so, he ought to have tried to locate this mint somewhere near Ahmadnagar and Zafarnagar. But instead of doing that, he stretched his imagination too far and tried to connect this mint with Bhujnagar, the capital town of the Kutch State in Kathiawad.

In support of his argument, he quoted one Sundar, the Brahmin who was a right hand man of Shāhjahān and on whom the titles of Rāy Rāyān and Rāja Bikramajīt were conferred by the orders of Jahāngīr. Under the command of this Brahmin, a detachment of the Imperial army was sent to chastise Bhāra of the Kutch State and the Rāo was compelled to kiss the Imperial threshold at Ahmadābād. It was at this time that Bhāramalji acknowledged the suzerainty of

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1. *Num. Suppl.*, No. XXVIII for 1917, p. 78.
2. Ibid., No. XXXVII for 1923, p. 77.

Jahāngīr and a *Kori* of the following type was issued in the name of Jahāngīr.

Obv.

شاه
بن اکبر
الدین جهانگیر
شاه

Rev.

حسب
Trident زددر
سکه
राउश्रीभाराजी

Please note, there is no trace of the mint Bhujnagar on this *Kori*. About these *Koris*, J. Allan, on page 185 of Vol. IV of *IMC.*, says: "The unit is the silver Kori and bears no historical relation to the rupee, which is equal to 2½ Koris. The early coins of this State were copied from those of Mahmūd Shāh II (III) of Gujarat of which Kutch formed part. Bhāramalji II seems to have adopted those of Ahmad Shāh II (III) as his model, but Deśalji II broke away entirely from the Gujarat type and fell into line with most of the States in acknowledging Muhammad Akbar (II) on his coins as supreme ruler."

If we compare the details of this half rupee of Jahāngīr with those of the above *Kori*, we can, unhesitatingly, come to the conclusion that the mint name on our coin cannot be identified with Bhujnagar of the Kutch State. Moreover the mint inscribed on these *Koris* is always Bhuj and not Bhujnagar. It seems the learned historian has erred somewhere. The *Koris* of the Kutch and Kathiawad States always bear the name of the ruling Chief in Devanagari script which fact is totally missing from this half rupee. We can, therefore, safely reject the identification of this mint with Bhujnagar.

In the year 1944, while delivering his Presidential Address[1] at the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Madras, Prayag Dayal said:

"From an extensive hoard of Mughal rupees from Jhānsi district, Dr. V. S. Agrawala reports the discovery of five coins of Panjnagar mint issued by Jahangir. This mint is known only by a single half rupee in the Panjab Museum. Mr. Whitehead considered its reading as only tentative, since the place is unidentified. On the basis of these new specimens, the name Panjnagar is now certain." But I am constrained to state that without the proper identification of this mint, Prayag Dayal boldly remarked, "the name Panjnagar is now certain."

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[1] *JNSI.*, VI (for 1944), p. 68.

L. K. Kukuranov of U.S.A. purchased two full rupees of Jahāngīr of Punjnagar mint in 1949-50 at Bombay and wrote an article on them.[1] He too was amazed to read Hodivala's identification of this mint with Bhujnagar and remarked : "This most interesting conjecture, though never challenged as far as I know, did not seem to be convincing enough." On the strength of the above two full rupees, he further said : "In any case the find of rupee coins bearing the same mint name as the half rupee coin No. 1001 (of *PMC.*) has nullified Prof. Hodivala's conjecture that this special issue was more or less adapted in size to the monetary unit of Kutch—The Kori." He further remarked that "The amazing similarity of this issue to the coins of Ahmadnagar may be taken as an indication that there is more likelihood in tracing the geographical location of this puzzling mint in the North-West of the Deccan or the adjoining territory than elsewhere."

Now let us try to solve this mystery as far as we can. As stated above, it has been proved beyond doubt that these issues cannot be identified with Bhujnagar as stated by Hodivala. Kukuranov seems to be correct when he says that the geographical location of this mint must be traced somewhere in the Deccan than elsewhere.

We know that on a solitary half rupee of Jahāngīr in the Lahore Museum, this mint name was tentatively read as Punjnagar by Rodgers long long time ago. Instead of trying to make out another name for this mint, everybody thought of Punjnagar and Panjnagar alone. If this mint could be read as Punjnagar or Bhujnagar, it could as well be read as Fatehnagar. Our learned Professor went to the length of identifying it with Bhujnagar and declared it to be a *Kori* of Rāo Bhāramalji issued in the name of Jahāngīr.

While examining coins in the State Museum, Lucknow, I came across many coins of this variety issued from the so-called Panjnagar or Bhujnagar mints. When I looked up at the mint on our coin, I was tempted to read it as Fatehnagar at the first instance because the word (فتح) seemed to be very clear to me. (See **Pl. II. 7-9** for the coins and **7A-9A** for the enlargements of the word 'Fateh'). I am of the opinion that these coins were issued neither from Punjnagar nor Bhujnagar as stated by other scholars, but they were issued from the Fatehnagar mint and this fact is clearly revealed to us by the mint name inscribed on these coins. On some specimens, the name Fatehnagar (فتحنگر) is clearly inscribed, but on others, it is written in a slightly different manner, so as to render it to be misunderstood for Panjnagar but not for Bhujnagar. The latter reading is purely a conjecture of Hodivala based on historical grounds. But the real test lies in finding out the correct name and location of this mint. As admitted by Hodivala and Kukuranov, all the coins issued from these mints, e.g. Ahmadnagar, Zafarnagar and Panjnagar (but now Fatehnagar) are so close in resemblance to each other that they must have originated from some mints closer to each other. Now let us try to throw some light on these mints.

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[1] *JNSI.*, XVI (for 1954), p. 253.

(1) *Ahmadnagar*—This place was founded in the 16th century and became the capital of the Nizāmshāhī kings. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign, it was besieged but its actual capitulation took place in 1008 A. H. In Jahāngīr's reign, the city was lost and regained. The Nizāmshāhī kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire during Shāhjahān's reign.

(2) *Zafarnagar*—This place has already been identified with the town of that name to the south of Ahmadnagar. The earliest known coin is the rupee of Jahāngīr.

(3) *Fatehnagar*—(i) Extract from pages 148-49 of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. VI :

"In 1610 Malik Ambar, Minister of Nizamshahi Kings of Ahmadnagar, founded the city near the village of Kharki and called it *Fatehnagar*. The Mughals and the Nizamshahi troops under Malik Ambar were constantly at war during the early part of the 17th century. Aurangzeb was appointed Governor of the Deccan and during his residence at this village of Kharki, changed its name to Aurangabad."

(ii) *IMC.*, Vol. III, page XXXI under Aurangabad mint :

"Aurangabad was the name given by Aurangzeb to a town founded by him during his father's reign near the site of the village of Kharki five *kos* S.E. of Daulatabad. *Under Jahāngīr the town had been called Fatehabad* (Blockman's *Ain-i-Akbarī*, page 491 n). Fatehnagar is, therefore, identified with the modern town of Aurangabad in the Deccan.

While discussing the mintages of these three places, we should not lose sight of another sister mint namely Jālnapur which was also issuing rupees of the same variety in the name of Emperor Jahāngīr. Following coins of this mint are known :

No. 1016 of *PMC*. without date. Jālnapur in one line.

No. 1478 of *LMC.* with date 1014?. Jālna above and pur below.

No. 1479 of *LMC.* with date 1015. Jālna above and pur below.

No. 1480-81 of *LMC.* without date. Jālnapur in one line.

Over and above these, there are three more specimens in the collection of the Lucknow Museum, one of which is dated 1016 H. Luckily some of these coins bear dates and we can, therefore, say that they were issued in the first three years of Jahāngīr's reign (1014-16 H.).

A few words about the history of Jālnapur may also be said. The *Akbarnāmā* mentions Jālnapur in connection with Ahmadnagar situated at a distance of 39 miles east of Aurangabad. Abul Fazl resided here for sometime and Aurangzeb is said to have occasionally visited this place during his Viceroyalty in Deccan. The fort of Jālna, which was built in 1725 is now in ruins. From the above account, it can be seen that all the four mints, e.g. Ahmadnagar, Zafarnagar, Fatehnagar and Jālnapur, were situated very close to each other and were issuing coins of the same variety in the name of Emperor Jahāngīr in the early part of his reign.

I would also like to say something about the date of origin of these three mints. We know Ahmadnagar was founded in the 16th century and it became the capital of Nizāmshāhī kings of the Deccan. Zafarnagar and Fatehnagar are synonymous denoting the place of victory. These places were probably founded when the Mughal troops invaded Deccan and gained victory over the armies of Malik Ambar during the reign of Jahāngīr.

Now let us come to the question of the date, the type and the variety of coins issued by these three mints.

(1) More than a dozen coins of this variety are described and illustrated in our catalogues of various museums in India and many more might be lying uncared for, but we are not aware of any dates found on these coins. Hodivala refers to coin No. 946 of *PMC.* of Ahmadnagar mint which bears the date 1027 H. He says : "because this coin closely resembles in all respects with other undated coins, all these coins should belongs to the same period." It may be stated that the type of the Panjab Museum specimen is different from other coins. We are, therefore, unable to agree to Hodivala's opinion.

Coins Nos. 638-643 of IMC. of Ahmadnagar Mint—About these coins Nelson Wright is of the opinion that "they are probably, to judge from the evidence of the *Kalima*, specimens of a type current early in Jahāngīr's reign. They may be placed after the 6th year." (i.e. after 1020 A. H.). On the strength of the dated coins of the Jālnapur mint, would it not be feasible to date them all to the early part of Jahāngīr's reign ?

(2) These coins are practically of one and the same type irrespective of their place of minting. They bear the following legend on them :

Obv.	*Rev*
The *Kalima* and name of the mint.	غازی جهانگیر بادشاه محمد نورالدین or برهان الدین

It must be borne in mind that in most of the cases, Jahāngīr issued his currency in association with his father's name, but here we observe that Akbar's name is totally missing. This is rather a novel feature of this series of coins.

(3) As regards the rarity of these coins, we know the coins of Ahmadnagar mint are common, and of Fatehnagar, somewhat rare. Those of Zafarnagar mint are the rarest ; only two specimens, one in the Lahore and the other in the Lucknow Museum are known so far. The coins of the Jālnapur mint are also very rare.

In the end, it would not be out of place if something is said about the title used on the coins of this variety. Kukuranov thought that the *laqab* Burhānu-d-dīn only was used on the issues of Ahmadnagar and Fatehnagar mints, but he was not sure whether the same *laqab* was used for the Zafarnagar mintages also. Nothing can be said about the *laqab* used on the coins of the latter mint because the lower portion of the legend is obliterated on the coins. But it can definitely be said that both the *laqabs*, e.g. Nūru-d-dīn and Burhānu-d-dīn were used on the coins issued from other mints. It must also be borne in mind that the *laqab* of Burhānu-d-dīn was exclusively used on the coins of these Deccani mints and no other mints of Jahāngīr are known to have issued coins with this title. Whether the influence of Nizāmshāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar was responsible for the use of this *laqab* on these coins, we do not know. Jahāngīr's currency issued from all other mints carried his usual *laqab* of Nūru-d-dīn.

HINDU INFLUENCE ON THE COINS OF AURANGZEB

C. R. SINGHAL

Over and above the Persian legends, a large number of ornamental marks or mint-marks have been found on the coins of the Mughal emperors of India. As a matter of fact, marks of various designs have been found on the coinage of India from the earliest to the late period of history and it seems no comprehensive study has been made to explain the true significance of these marks. At the end of their respective catalogues of coins, various authors have drawn tables of these marks and C. J. Brown has drawn over three hundred such marks in his *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the State Museum of Lucknow*.

It is true, the significance of each and every mark cannot easily be explained, but it cannot be denied that certain marks were common for certain mints and with the help of these marks, the coins could be assigned to those mints even though the mint name was obliterated on some of them. At p. 80 of his *Catalogue*, Brown says :

"What the exact purpose of these special marks was, has not yet been determined, but that the changes in these marks had some special significance in connection with the mint seems obvious and we have one piece of evidence showing what in Shāh 'Alam's reign in the Bareli mint the significance of these marks was."

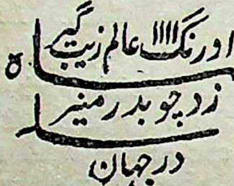
While I was engaged in compiling a Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal coins in this museum, I was studying the various marks found on the coins of Aurangzeb of Bijāpūr mint. My attention was drawn to a tiny mark inscribed over the ب of ضرب which looked very queer to me at the first sight. When this mark was minutely examined under a powerful magnifying glass, the said sign turned out to be that of a Hindu god. This increased my curiosity because the symbol of any human being, and much less of a Hindu god, on the coins of Aurangzeb was beyond my comprehension. This god is in a standing pose with his arms curving inside towards the hips. It wears an ornamental *Mukuṭ* or crown on his head. This figure resembles with the image of Viṭhobā of Pandharpur and it is therefore identified as such.

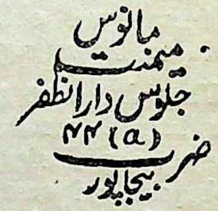
About Pandharpur, we know that it is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage in the Maharashtra State. This place is highly revered by all the Hindus of the Western and Southern India as containing a celebrated temple dedicated to the god Viṭhobā, an incarnation of Vishṇu. In honour of this god, three fairs are held annually when a large number of devotees assemble from all parts of the country and pay their respects to this god.

Both the rupees, which form the subject of this paper, were issued in the name of Aurangzeb from the Bijāpūr mint in the years 1111-44 and 1113-46 A. H. (A. D. 1699 and 1701). Bijāpūr is situated at a distance of about 60 miles from Pandharpur and it could not possibly escape from the all pervading influence of god Viṭhobā of Pandharpur. It is presumed that some devotees of god Viṭhobā, who might be employed in the Bijāpūr mint in those years, must have found an opportunity to engrave this tiny mark of Viṭhobā on the dies of these coins. The mark being a tiny one escaped the notice of everybody and these coins were passed into circulation along with the other coins of this mint.

The legend on these coins is as under :

1. **Obv.** **Rev.**



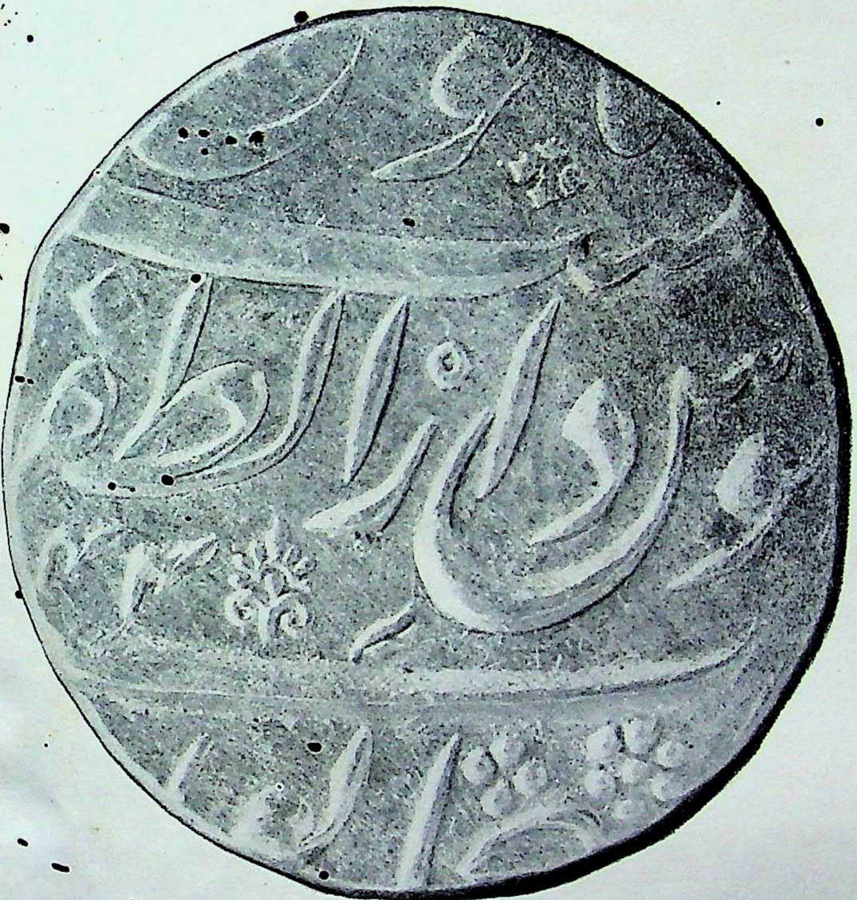


Mark of god Vithoba at (a)
(See enlarged photograph of reverse in attached Plate.)

2. " "
but date ۱۱۱۳ year ۴۶

Both these rupees were received as Treasure Trove from the M. P. and Bombay Govtt. long ago.

P.S.—After writing the above article, I found a third specimen of the same variety. This coin was included in a Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal coins in this museum by C. J. Brown. As Mr. Brown did not say anything about this symbol, it seems, he failed to notice it. The figure of god on this coin is also similar to other two specimens described above, except in the formation of the crown. On this coin, the crown worn by the god has five upright projections instead of seven as found on other coins. It is dated 1108-41 H. All these coins were issued in the 41st, 44th and 46th years of Aurangzeb's reign when his power and influence were declining in the Deccan. It is my firm belief that some more specimens of the same variety are likely to be found in the collections of other museums also. Only a thorough search would reveal the exact number of such coins. This rupee was received as Treasure Trove from the Mirzapur district of U. P.



Enlarged Photograph of Reverse of the Coin of
Aurangzeb of Bijāpūr Mint

available to me.

Both the rupees, which form the subject of this paper, were
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SOME SILVER COINS OF TWO PRETENDERS TO THE MUGHAL THRONE—A'ZAM SHAH AND KĀM BAKHSH

Q. AHMAD

[Plate III]

During the thirteen years that elapsed between the death of Aurangzeb (A. H. 1118) and the accession of Muhammad Shah (1131), no less than nine Pretenders to the Mughal throne made formal declaration of their sovereignty and issued coins in their names. Of course, not all the nine could successfully assert their claims ; many perished in the process and a few who somehow survived the ordeal of battle or were enthroned by powerful factions out of ulterior considerations were soon replaced. The 'reigns' of these shadowy and titular heads of State are hardly of any political importance.

But to the numismatist, their 'reigns' are of comparatively great interest. The "exaggerated importance", to quote R. B. Whitehead, "attached by Muslim kings to the exclusive right of issuing coins is well known. In fact no declaration of sovereignty or independence could be juridically or conventionally regarded as complete without issuings of coins by the person concerned. A'zam, whose coins have been discussed in this paper, survived hardly a few months after his declaration of sovereignty and the greater part of that period was spent in mortal struggle with his brother, and yet, amidst all this critical preoccupation, he managed to issue coins. The same is true of the other pretenders to the throne during the next years. Quite naturally the coins of these pretenders are very few ; of some, like Azimusshan, none are known to exist. This is precisely the reason why their issues deserve our greater attention. Any such coins brought to light are an addition to our very meagre published collection.

In this paper, I have presented two silver coins, each, of A'zam Shāh and Kām Bakhsh, the sons of Aurangzeb.[1]

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[1] All the four coins belong to the Patna Museum—Stock Register Nos. 5799-5802. I am grateful to the Acting Curator of the Museum, Dr. H. K. Prasad, for having made these available to me.

Prince A'zam was the third son of Emperor Aurangzeb. He was born of a Persian mother, named Dilras Banu, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Ṣafavi. Kām Bakhsh, the fifth and youngest son, was born of a Hindu mother, named Bai Udaipuri. Both A'zam and Kām Bakhsh had showed signs of insubordination in the lifetime of Aurangzeb. The latter was even imprisoned for sometime in the Deccan.

The political careers of A'zam and Kām Bakhsh and the events leading to the war of succession among the brothers are well known facts of the general history of the period.[1] It will suffice to mention here that on the death of Aurangzeb, A'zam immediately challenged the right of his elder brother, Mu'azam, to succeed. Mu'azam made a conciliatory offer. He recalled their father's will and offered to A'zam part of the kingdom. But A'zam disdainfully rejected the offer. The battle of Jajau (June, 1707) followed suit. Although A'zam had a slight edge over his brother due to the powerful support of the influential section of the Persian noblemen, led by the old veteran, Asad Khan, he fell in the decisive battle.

His published coins are, all, dated A. H. 1118 and 1119 although both bear the first regnal year or *San-i-Aḥad.*

Kām Bakhsh was born on the 7th March, 1677. Aurangzeb, on the eve of his death, had deputed Kām Bakhsh to the south and appointed him as the Governor of Bijapur. Soon after the death of his father, Kām Bakhsh made a formal declaration of sovereignty and got the Khutbā read in his name and also issued coins.

Bahadur Shah turned his attention to this second fraternal challenge after his first round of struggle with the Rajputs. As in the case of A'zam, he tried to conciliate Kām Bakhsh, offering him the southern provinces. The latter, however, did not respond to the gesture. The issue was finally settled in the battlefield in which Kām Bakhsh, like A'zam a year earlier, paid with his life for his high and dangerous bid (January, 1709).

The coins of Kām Bakhsh are all issued from mints in the Deccan. All his published coins are of A. H. 1120.

The published coins of A'zam Shah are very few—6 to be exact. The *Indian Museum Catalogue* does not contain a single coin of A'zam Shah. The *Lahore Museum Catalogue* has only one coin (silver), while the *British Museum Catalogue* contains 5 coins of which only 2 are of silver. It will thus be seen that the total number of published silver coins of A'zam Shah, barring some stray ones which might have been published in an article, is only 3.

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[1] W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I.

The same is the case, more or less, in regard to coins of Kām Bakhsh. These are, if anything, more scarce.[1] The *British Museum* and the *Lahore Museum Catalogues* contain 2 and 1 coin, respectively, of Kām Bakhsh.

All the 4 coins under review are of silver and are round in shape. The complete legend is, unfortunately, not present on these coins. But the greater part of the legend is extant and legible. In reproducing the legends, I have written only that portion which is extant on the coins. However, the complete legends on the coins of both A'zam Shah and Kām Bakhsh have also been given so that the readers may fill in the blanks for themselves. Comments, if any, on the coins have been given at the end of each description.

The full legend on the coins of A'zam Shah is :[2]

سکہ زد در جہاں با دلت و جاہ

پادشاہ ممالک اعظم شاہ ۔

Tr.—'Struck money through the world with might and majesty, Padshah of the Realm, A'zam Shah.'

A detailed description of the two coins is given below :

1. *Obv.*[3]

مالک ام

ببادلت وجاہ باد

زد درجہاں

Rev.

سنہ

ضرجلوس

ف

اشرلہ اد

(Pl. III. 1)

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[1] The *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1884 contains a short note by J. G. Delmerick describing a Gold Muhar of Kām Bakhsh, dated 1120 and of Hyderabad Mint.

[2] *JASB.*, 1888, p. 17.

[3] The *British Museum Catalogue* has wrongly entered this part of the legend as reverse and vice versa. The *Lahore Museum Catalogue* has rightly entered it as the obverse.

It is to be noted that although the words of the legend on the obverse are, more are less, similar to those illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue* (Nos. 847, 849-951), the arrangement of the words in this coin is quite different. In fact, it is quite unlike any other published coin of A'zam Shah.

The date which is usually found in A'zam Shah's coins on the obverse is not present in this one. In the legend on the reverse, the word on the top, above ب, is fragmentary and cannot be made out. In the last line, after اشر the letters سنه احـ are visible. These may represent either the words سنه احد or may be part of the mint name.

2. The second coin is comparatively clear. It also contains both the regnal year and the mint name.

Obv.

Legend in a circle

مالک اعظم سہ
بدولت وجاه بادَ
سکه
زد در جهان

Rev.

جلوس اشر
ف
سنه احد
ضرب
سورت

(Pl. III. 2)

Only one such coin is published—No. 1993 of the *Lahore Museum Catalogue* which also contains the date, 1119. The mint name in the Lahore Museum coin is not as clear and full as in this one.

The full legend on Kām Bakhsh's coins is:

سکه زد در دکن بر خورشید و ماه
پادشاهِ کام بخشِ دین پناه

Tr.—'Struck coin in the Deccan, on the sun and the moon, Padshah Kām Bakhsh, the Asylum of the faith.'[1]

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1. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Punjab Museum Coins*, Vol. II, 1914, p. 272. Also see Rodger's article on 'Distiches on Mughal Coins after Jahangir', *JASB.*, 1888, p. 28.

Irvine has read it as (p. 51):

در دکن زد سکہ برخورشید و ماہ
پادشاہِ کام‌بخشِ دیں پناہ

It may be clarified that this distich has been wrongly entered by Lane Poole in the *British Museum Catalogue* (p. 371) as:

سکہ زد در دکن برخورشید و ماہ
شاہ دکن کام‌بخش پادشاہ

Tr.—'Struck money on sun and moon (gold and silver), The Shah of Deccan, Kām Bakhsh Padshah.'

Lane Poole's arrangement of the distich is not only wrong metrically but its meaning carries a wrong political import. It means that Kām Bakhsh claimed sovereignty not of the whole of India but only of the Deccan. This is historically incorrect.

It is said that Aurangzeb, on the eve of his death, had prepared a will parcelling out the kingdom among his sons. Under this scheme, Kām Bakhsh would have received two *Ṣubahs* in the Deccan.[1] Bahadur Shah repeatedly offered this willed decision as a compromise to his two contenders but both refused. Had Kām Bakhsh accepted this offer and contented himself with the kingship of the South, as Lane Poole's arrangement of the distich implies, there would have been no occasion for his fight with Bahadur Shah. Finally, in Lane Poole's reading, the word دکن occurs twice. A glance at his own illustrations of Kām Bakhsh's coins would show that there is only one دکن.

Two coins of Kām Bakhsh are as described below:

1. ***Obv.***

باد کام‌بخش ،
۱۱۲۰
برخورشید و ما ا
در دکـ

Rev.

جلوس
میمنت
نوس حیدرابا
رلہ

(Pl. III. 3)

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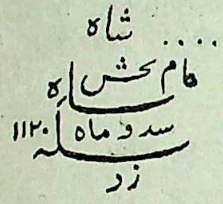
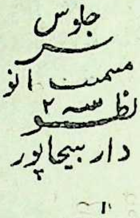
1. Irvine, op. cit.

This coin is unique. No other silver coin of Kām Bakhsh from Hyḍerabad Mint has been published so far. No. 852 of the *British Museum Catalogue* has these particulars but it is a gold coin.

2. ***Obv.*** ***Rev.***


شاه
کام بخش
۱۱۲۰
زد


جلوس
۲
دار بیجاپور

(Pl. III. 4)

This coin tallies with No. 853 of the British Museum.

COINS OF MEWAR—II

ROSHAN LAL SAMAR

[Plates V-VII]

In the first part of this paper[1] I had described the coins issued by Guhalot or Gehlot rulers of Mewar from Maharaja Guhadatta (A.D. 562) till Rawal Ratan Siṁha's reign, which ended with the sack of Chitor by Allauddin Khilji (1303 A. D.). Here, I propose to discuss the coins of Mewar from A.D. 1303 to 1948 A.D. till the merger of Mewar in Rajasthan State.

Rāṇā Kumbhā (A.D. 1433-1468)

From the downfall of Chitor in A.D. 1303 at the hand of Allauddin Khilji till the accession of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in A. D. 1433, for about 130 years, the numismatic history of Mewar is blank; though it is not unlikely that coins had been issued during this period but they have not come to our knowledge. Rāṇā Lākhā[2] (V. S. 1439 to 1476 or 78) is said to have spent a huge amount of *Kanak Taṅkās* (gold (coins) to relieve the sacred town of Gaya of the tax imposed by the Muslim invaders. Most likely these were Muslim coins. If they were any local issues, we have not come across them.

Śriṅgī Ṛishi Inscription dated V.S. 1485(=1428 A. D.) of Rāṇā Mokala (V. S. 1476-1490) mentions silver *Phadyakās*. These coins have been identified with silver Gadhiya coins[3], which are so often found in Mewar and Malwa. The value of silver *Phadyakās* has sometimes been reckoned as modern two anna.[4] But it seems highly improbable. The silver-plated Gadhiya coins may be equal to two annas but not the silver ones. These silver *Phadyakās* do not seem to be the coins of Rāṇā Mokala or of the earlier Rāṇās of Mewar. Most likely they were issued by the Paramār kings of Malwa who had sway over Chitor and the country round about it, before the Guhlots acquired it. Even Āhad was once captured

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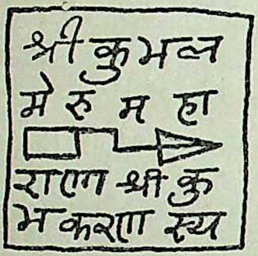
1. *JNSI.*, XX, pp. 26-45.
2. *JNSI.*, XX, p. 16.
3. Ibid., p. 17.
4. Ibid., p. 17.

by them at the close of the tenth century during the time of Śakti Kumār.

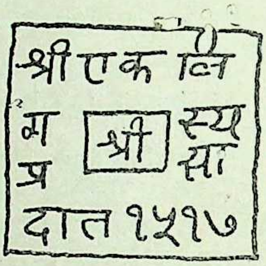
However, from the time of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā we have square copper coins with Nāgarī legends.

1. G. H. Ojha has mentioned the biggest type of the coin but he has neither illustrated it nor given its weight or size.[1] However, I have seen a coin of this type with a goldsmith at Chitor, who did not allow me to photograph it. It is as follows:

Obv.

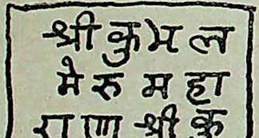


Rev.

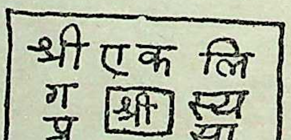


2. Cunningham[2] has illustrated a coin quite similar to the above, but there is no spear on the obverse. The legend on the obverse reads as *Śrī Kumbhalameru Mahārāṇā Śrī Kumbhakaraṇasya* and on the reverse as *Śrī Ekaliṅgasya Prasādāta s. 151.* The last unit figure is out of the flan. It weighs 196 grains.

Obv.



Rev.



3. A third type of coin is similar to the above, but is much smaller in size and on it the reverse 'श्री' is within double square. In this coin, it is *Kumbhalamero*, while in the coin of A. Cunningham, it is *meru.*

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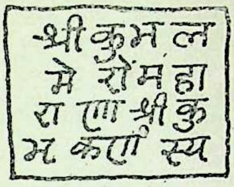
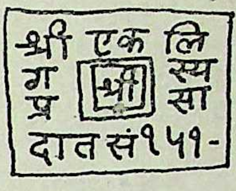
1. *Rājapūtāne kā Itihāsa*, p. 629.
2. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 11, pl. X.

Obv. **Rev.**


श्रीकुंभल
मेरोमहा
राणाश्रीकु
भकर्णस्य

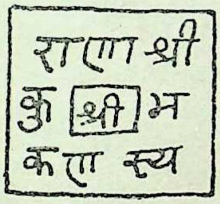

श्री एक लि
ग स्य
प्र श्री सा
दात सं १५१-

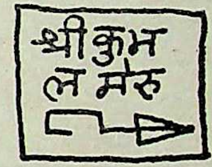
(Pl. V. 1)

Most part of the legend is out of flan and it is restored as above. The medial *é* of *me* and upper part of medial *o* of *ro* in *meru* is inscribed on the coin to the left of *ma* and *ra* respectively.[1]

4. A fourth variety has the following legends :

Obv. **Rev.**

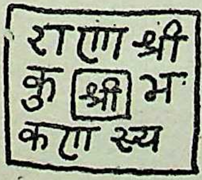

राणाश्री
कु श्री भ
कर्णस्य

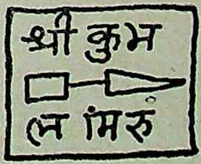


(Pl. V. 2)

This coin is bigger in size than coin No. 3 described above, but smaller than coin No. 1. The coin illustrated here was in the collection of Sri M. R. Antani. Its reverse is blurred and the inscription cannot be read. But Ojha has described a similar coin which has the reverse as described above.

5. **Obv.** **Rev.**


राणाश्री
कु श्री भ
कर्णस्य



(Pl. V. 3)

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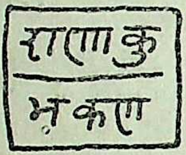
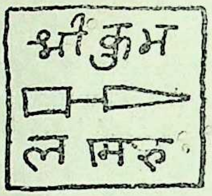
[1] [In the early medieval nagri inscriptions, the upper strokes of *é* and *o* were always placed to left of the letter.–*P.L.G.*]

The legend on the illustrated coin is fragmentary. Only 'श्री' (*Śrī*) is within square and '*bha*' on its right is distinct on the obverse and a lance is between the two lines on the reverse. The coin is very much similar to coin 4 except that the position of the lance is changed. This is also smaller in size. The coin belongs to the late Mahārāṇā Bhupal Singh.

6. **Obv.** **Rev.**

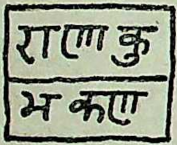


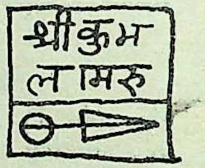


(Pl. V. 4)

This is an unpublished variety and weighs 46 grains. It is being published from my own collection. On the obverse, the legend is divided by a line, the first line is off the flan ; on the reverse, the two lines are separated by a lance. The medial *é* of *meru* is to the left of *ma*.

7. **Obv.** **Rev.**

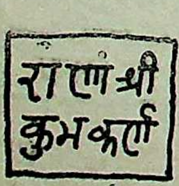


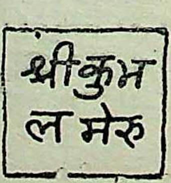


(Pl. V. 5)

Ojha had published a coin of this type but he did not illustrate it.[1] Here the obverse legend is separated by a line. On the reverse the lance is below the legend *Śrī Kumbhalameru* and it is also separated by a line. The coin weighs 52 grains.

8. **Obv.** **Rev.**





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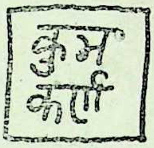
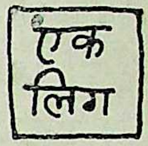
[1] *Rajapūtāne kā Itihāsa*, p. 629.

This was described by Ojha.[1] It differs from the above coin only in respert of the reverse, where the lance is absent.

9. **Obv.** **Rev.**





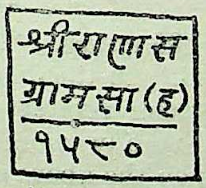
This is the smallest coin of the series. Prinsep,[2] Cunningham,[3] Webb[4] and Ojha[5], all have published and described it. It weighs 32 grains according to Cunningham.

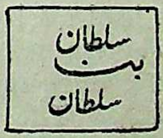
Eklingji inscription of V. S. 1495 of Rāṇā Rāimal, son and successor of Rāṇā Kumbhā, mentions *Kanak Taṅkās.*[6] These coins, like the *Kanak Taṅkās* of Rāṇā Lākhā, seem to be Muslim coins (cf. *Hema Taṅkās* of Allauddin Khilji).

Rāṇā Sāṅgā or Sangrām Siṁha (A.D 1509-1527).

The coins of Rāṇā Sāṅgā are either of copper or of brass and are crude in execution. His coins have the Nāgari legend only on one side; on the other side the legend is in Persian, imitating that of Sultans of Malwa. Whether he restruck the coins of the Sultans of Malwa, who owed allegiance to him, with his own Nāgari legend, or he adopted their pattern, the epithet *Sultān-bin-Sultān* being quite appropriate for himself, is difficult to suggest. Cunningham has published two coins bearing dates 158[-] and 1575.[7]

1. **Obv.** **Rev.**





(Pl. V. 6)

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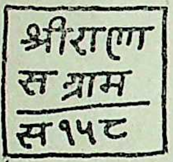
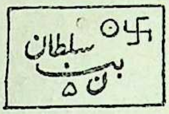
1. *Rājapūtāne kā Itihāsa*, p. 629.
2. *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, I, p. 298.
3. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 12, pl. X.
4. *Currencies of Hindu States of Rajputana*, pl. I, 12.
5. *Rajapūtāne kā Itihāsa*, p. 6-9.
6. *JNSI.*, XX, p. 16.
7. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pl. X, 13, 14.

The Nagri legend on the obverse is in three lines, each separated by a line. The first line of the legend is off the flan. The legend reads as *Śrī Rāṇā Sangrām Sāh 1580*. The year 1580 is the Vikram era. The legend on the reverse in Persian script reads as *Sultān-bin-Sultān*. The coin weighs 123 grains and is of brass.

2. **Obv.** **Rev.**

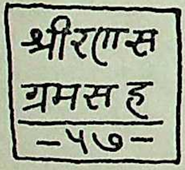




(Pl. V. 7)

This is also of brass and weighs 127 grains. The legend of this coin is similar to the above. The first line is off the flan. The unit figure of the date is missing. The legend on the reverse is in Persian script and reads much the same as on coin 1. But some symbols like *swastika* over *bin*, crescent with a dot within and a circle with a dot on the right upper corner are seen. The Persian figure ٥ is also inscribed below '*bin*',

3. **Obv.** **Rev.**

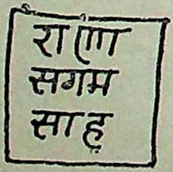


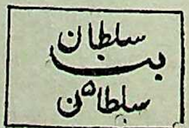
Illegible traces
of
Persian legend

(Pl. V. 8)

This is also a brass coin weighing 105 grains. The legend on the obverse is incorrectly inscribed. In the date the first figure representing thousand and the last one representing unit are missing. The reverse legend is wholly worn out and cannot be read. It may be the same as on the above coins.

4. **Obv.** **Rev.**

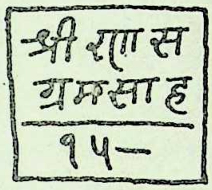




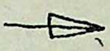
(Pl. V. 9)

This is a copper coin of 60 grains. The obverse legend is in three lines, the last line *Sāh* is faint and is our conjectural restoration. On the reverse, the legend is in Persian as on the above coins. Below the word *'bin'* the Arabic ๏ is inscribed.

5. **Obv.** **Rev.**



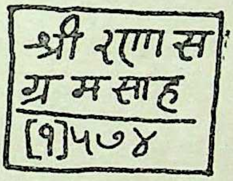
Crude imitation of Persian script; below



(Pl. V. 10)

This is a copper coins of 64 grains. The obverse, legend on this coin seems to have been over-struck on an early Persian legend, traces of which are clear on the coin. On the reverse, in place of usual Persian legend some haphazard jumble of Persian letters, with an arrow head at the bottom, are inscribed.

6 **Obv.** **Rev.**



Traces of Persian script

(Pl. V. 11)

The first line of the legend on the obverse is out of flan. The date in the last line is separated from the legend by two lines. On the reverse, the Persian legend is unintelligible; only part of *Zarb* is visible.

Rāṇā Ratansiṁha (A. D. 1527-1532)

Ojha mentions a coin of Rāṇā Ratansiṁha which resembles Kumbhā's coin and the legend reads *Rāṇā Ratansiṁha*, while the reverse side of the coin is blurred and cannot be read. The coin is said to be rough or crude like the coins of Rāṇā Sāṅgā. Size weight and the metal of the coin is not mentioned.[1] I have not come across any coins of this ruler.

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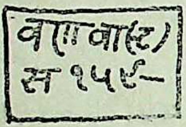
[1] *Rājapūtāne kā Itihāsa*, p. 704.

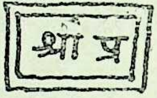
Vikramāditya (A. D. 1532-35)

Coins of Rāṇā Vikramāditya are rare. Cunningham[1] has published a coin, where the obverse Nagri legend reads as *Rāṇā Srī Vikramāditya* in three lines and the year 159[5], in the fourth. On the reverse is the Persian legend of Mahmud Shah II of Malwa. It weighs 133 grs. S. L. Katare has published another coin of Rāṇā Vikramāditya.[2] No other coin is known so far.

Coins of Vaṇvīr (A. D. 1536-41)

1 **Obv.** **Rev.**

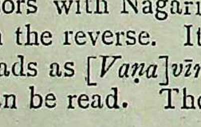


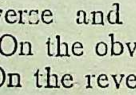


(Pl. V. 12)

Cunningham[3] has published a copper coin of Vaṇvīr which weighs 125 grs. The present coin is quite a new variety and weighs only 48 grains. The legends on both the sides are in Nagri, the reverse legend *Śrī Pra* within double square is enigmatic. P. L. Gupta feels that it might stand for Sri Prithvīrāj, whose illegitimate son was Vaṇvīr. He might be proclaiming his authority through his father.

2. **Obv.** **Rev.**





(Pl V. 13)

This is another copper coin of the type issued by his predecessors with Nāgari legend on the obverse and Persian legend on the reverse. It weighs 60 grains. On the obverse the legend reads as [*Vaṇa*]*vīr* with *Sam. 1594*. On the reverse only *Sultān* can be read. The rest is unintelligible.

Udayasiṁha-Amarasiṁha (A. D. 1537-1620)

Since the time of Mahārāṇā Udayasiṁha, the condition of Mewar was very troublous. Udayasiṁha, Pratāpasiṁha

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1. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 16, pl. X.
2. *JNSI.*, XVI, p. 284-85.
3. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 17, pl. X.

and Amarasiṁha, all had to defend themselves against the Mughal armies and they had taken refuge in the hilly tracts of Mewar. During this period, it is unlikely that Mewar mints would have been working. If they worked, we do not know any coin of the period.

However, certain coins are believed to have been issued by the Mughal rulers during this period. One of them is the gold coin of Akbar dated 984 A. H. bearing the mint name Muhammadābād *urf* Udayapur. It is said that it was issued by him to commemorate his victory over Mewar.[1] But it seems to me most unlikely. At that time, Udayapur was hardly in existence. If it existed, it had no identity of its own.

Webb has published a coin, which is said to have been struck at Chitor after its sack by Akbar in A. D. 1568. It is inscribed with the letter 'गा' meaning "*gāo māryā rā pāp,*" a proverb which has its origin in the slaughter at Chitor.[2] But Webb did not believe that the coin belonged to the period of Akbar. He thought it was probably struck in the name of Akbar II and was a local coin. The drawing of the coin given by him (his plate II. 15), however, does not show the name of Akbar. The legend given there is *Sikkā mubārak Bādshāh Gāzī Shāh.* The date is *san julūs* 4 and not 14 as read by Webb. The letter गा over *zarb* is found inscribed on the coins of Gaekwad. The coin is a Baroda issue and is not connected in any way with Mewar.

R. G. Gyani has published some copper coins of Akbar and Jahangir, with the mint name Delwara and has suggested that they might have been issued by some Jāgirdār of that town.[3] But for many political considerations, it does not seem likely. The coins might be of some other locality bearing the same name.

Some copper coins of Akbar, issued between the years 999 and 1008 A. H., are attributed to Chitor mint in various Museum *Catalogues.* But the reading on these coins is not clear. While some scholars read the mint name *Chītor* or *Chitor,* others take it to be *Jaipur*[4] or *Qanauj.*[5]

However, it is stated by Kavirāja Śyāmala Dās that Mahārāṇā Amarasiṁha concluded a treaty with the Mughal emperor Jahangir in A.D. 1615 and there in the issue of the coins from Mewar mint was stipulated. The coins had to have the

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1. *BMC.*, intro., p. li ; p. 17 ; pl. III, 631.
2. *Currencies of Hindu States of Rajputana*, p. 8.
3. *JNSI.*, II, p. 4.
4. *Indian Antiquary*, 1890, p. 222.
5. *JASB.*, 1886, pl. II, 23.

inscriptions of the Mughal coins. It is also said that a mint was opened at Chitor in persuance of the treaty.[1] But no coin of this period bearing the mint name Chitor is known so far. A copper of Jahangir bearing the mint name Udayapur is known[2], which shows that some copper coins of Mughal pattern were issued during this period from Udaipur. But the silver coins are quite unknown.

Jagatsiṁha-Rājasiṁha (A D. 1628-1680)

Like the copper coin of Jahangir, some copper coins in the name of Shahjahan[3] and Aurangzeb[4] of Udayapur mint are also known, which show that copper coins in the name of Mughal emperors continued to be issued from Udayapur during the reigns of Mahārāṇā Jagatsiṁha and Rājasiṁha. The Jagadish Temple Inscription of V. S. 1708 mentions that Mahārāṇa Jagatsiṁha decided to give a horse to a brāhmaṇa, but instead he paid him four thousand.[5] Akshaya Kirti Vyas, who has edited the inscription, believes that the figures meant 4000 silver coins. Four thousand silver rupees for a horse is a fanciful price. The figures can only mean here 4000 copper coins. It is well known that the transactions were recorded in copper *dāms* in the period of Akbar. The same practice continued in later times also. In those days, the exchange value of 40 *dāms* was one rupee (Mughal). The same exchange rate might have been prevalent in Mewar. Accordingly, 4000 copper coins valued 100 silver rupees, which could be fair price for a horse. That the copper coins called *Dhabbuka* were current in Mewar in the times of Rājasiṁha is known from the *Rājapraśasti Mahākāvya*. Half *Dhabbukas* weigh 145 grs. **(Pl. V. 20-23)**

There are certain inscriptions of the reign of Mahārāṇā Jagatsiṁha which refer to silver coins. An inscription dated V.S. 1730, placed in the step-well at Bedavasa mentions *rūpiyā*[7]. The *Amarakāvya*, an unpublished manuscript in the Saraswati Bhavan Library, Udaipur, informs us that Jagatsiṁha had made the *Ratnadhenu* gift of 14,000 *rūpya mudrā*[8]. The terms *Rajata-mudrā*, *Rajata-mudrikā*, *Rūpya-Mudrā* occur several times in the *Rājapraśasti Mahākāvya*[9]. An inscription of V. S.

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1. *Vīra Vinoda*, I, p. 211.
2. *JASB.*, 1895, p.
3. *PMC.*, p. 211, coin 1458.
4. *NS.*, XLII, p. 25.
5. *EI.*, XXIV, pp. 56 ff.
6. Canto. 24, V. 30.
7. *JNSI.*, XX, p. 20.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.

1734 of the reign of Rājasiṁha identifies the *Rupya-mudrā* as *rūpiyā*[1]. A document dated V. S. 1706, issued by Rāṇā Jagatsiṁha, refers to fifteen hundred *Mudafarī* rupees, which was paid to a horse-merchant as the price of a horse. Here the *Mudafarī* rupees evidently meant the silver coins of Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat (1561-1572 A. D.). This document seems to suggest that silver coins of the Gujarat Sultans or the coins of their type and value were current in Mewar in this period. But it is by no means certain. It is quite likely that Mughal coins or local coins of Mughal type might have been current in the area. However, no specimens have come out so far.

Coins of Eighteenth Century

The coinage of Mewar in the eighteenth century are equally uncertain. Kavirāja Śyāmala Dāsa says that Pañcholī Bihārīdāsa, the Kāyastha Prime Minister of Mahārāṇā Saṅgrāmasiṁha II, was sent, in the year 1124 A.H. (A.D. 1713), to the court of the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiar to obtain permission for a mint at Udaipur.[2] It is not quite clear, as to why a new permission was necessary when there was already an order from Jahangir to this effect. However, even after the permission from Farrukhsiar, if any mint was started at Udaipur, we do not know. At least no coin bearing the name Udayapur is known.

In a mortgage deed dated V.S. 1811 (A. D. 1754), coins called *Elchī* are mentioned as current in Udaipur town. G. H. Ojha thinks that these were the coins of Jahangir and his successors issued from mints outside Mewar. In other words, the Mughal coins were known in Mewar as *Elchī*. But this interpretation does not seem to have any support. However, there was another coin current in Mewar at this period, as in certain judicial pronouncements the value of 100 *Elchī* coins is given as 125 *Chitorī* coins.

In the account books of Rawat Khumānasiṁha of Salumber Ṭhikānā for the year V.S. 1831 (A.D. 1774), I have found the mention of Mewar coins as *Arsī Shāi*. The *Arsī Shāi* coins are also mentioned in the personal account books of Thikana Vakil Narayan Lal Purohit• for the years V. S. 1828-29. The value of the *Arsī Shāi* coins is said therein, to be one rupee, four annas and six pies *Chitorī*. Here again *Chitorī* coins are mentioned, which were probably better

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1. *Vīra Vinoda*, II, p. 637.
2. *Rājputānā kā Itihāsa*, p. 964.

in their metal contents than the *Arsī Shāī* coins. The *Arsī Shāī* coins are said to have been introduced by the Prime Minister Amar Chand Badva in the reign of Mahārāṇā Arisiṁha III (A.D. 1761-1774) to meet the exigencies of the time. Since then Mewar has its debased silver coins, which are known as *Udaipurī*, *Chitorī* and *Bhilawārī* coins.

The Udaipur Museum possesses some coin-dies which were sent to the Museum from the State mint. Two of them **(Pl. V. 14-15)** are obverse dies and they read *Sikkā mubāraka Bādshāh Gāzī Shāh Alamgīr*. On one there is a branch of tree in the uppermost line between *A'* and *lam* and bears a date in the second line, where it ends just over a symbol of five dots **(Pl. V. 15)**. The first two figures for thousand and hundred are faint but the other two are distinct as ٨٧ (87). It may be restored as [10]87 A.H. As such I think that this die was used at the Mewar mint, when Aurangzeb's relations with Mewar were cordial.[1] The other die has neither date nor any symbol **(Pl. V. 14)**. It may be still older. A third one is a reverse die. It reads as *San>jalūs maimanat mānūs zarb Dārul-khilāfat Shāhjahānābad*, **(Pl. V. 16)**. It these dies were used at Mewar mints, they show that their coins were not having the name of any Mewar town as mint-name but were retaining the name of Mughal capital, as is found on Jodhpur coins.

I have secured two other dies from Mehta Sangram Siṁha, who belongs to the old Diwan family. When his ancestors were Diwan, the mint and the office of Diwan both were situated in the Haveli of Diwans. So, Mehta Sangram Siṁha was able to possess 75 dies. All of his dies are obverse dies. The dies before me are similar to those described above but they bear the date ١١٨٨ and ١١٨[٨] (1188 A.H.) **(Pl. V. 18-19)**. These dies show that the same legend that was introduced once continued throughout for a long period, and had no change with the change of the ruler. This is confirmed from a coin, which bears the same legend, only the date on it is [1]162 A. H. **(Pl. V. 17)**. Since in 1162 A.H. Ahmad Shah was the ruler of Delhi, there is no possibility to to say that the coin belonged to Alamgir II. The coin leads to the conclusion that here the name Alamgir meant Aurangzeb and not Alamgir II; and this legend was in use on Mewar coins from his time.[1]

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[1] [These dies cannot be attributed to the period of Aurangzeb. This formula was never used on any coin of his time, whether issued by him or by any one else in his name. On the other hand the coins of Alamgir II bear this formula on their obverse. So they can only be dies of his period. The figures ٨٧ might stand for some other date than Hijri.—*P.L.G.*]

Then there are two other dies in the Udaipur Museum. They were also sent from the State Mint when the Museum was opened. One of these dies reads *Sikkā mubārak bādshāh Ghāzī Shāh Ālam* and bears the date 1199 A.H. **(Pl. V. 21)**. The date is inscribed just above *Shāh* in the middle line. A coin with the same legend and date [11]99 is with me **(Pl. V. 24)**. Here the legend is incomplete; only the central portion survives, which reads *bādshah gāzī* with *99* above. On the reverse of the coin is *Maimnat mānūs san jalūs 29 zarb* followed by the mint name, which is most probably *Jaipur*. Such coins were current in Mewar as *Shāh Alam Shāhī*. If these coins were minted in Mewar, it is surprising as to why they bear the name of Jaipur.

The other die in the Museum is the reverse die and reads *Maimnat Mānūs san jalūs zarb Devagarh* **(Pl. V. 22)**. Here again we find the name of a mint which is unrelated to Mewar. Since the die has come to Museum from the State Mint, it suggests that the Mewar Mint was using such kinds of dies for its coins.

However, silver coins with the legends of these dies were current in Mewar during eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The local people distinguished them into five varieties; but it is not possible to put them into any chronology and suggest any history for them. They are:

1. CHITORĪ COINS. The legend on the obverse of these coins is in three lines and reads from bottom to top as *Sikkā mubārak bādshāh gāzī Shāh Alamgir* **(Pl. VI. 1-2)**. Full legend has never been impressed on any of these coins, but it is easy to find that they were struck with the dies similar to those described above. Generally only the middle line with the words *Shāh Gāzī* is seen on the coins. Several symbols are seen on this side of the coins. They are: (i) a symbol constituted of five lines is placed over *he* of *Shāh* pending from *ye of Ghāzī*; (ii) a circle of five dots with a central dot is placed in the bottom line at three points, one at the beginning of the line and the other two over *mubāra(ka)*; (iii) between *sikkā* and *mubārak* is a symbol like flag, similar to the symbol seen on *Trisūlia paisa* and also on some copper coins of Sindhias (Gwalior). It probably reflects some Maratha influence; (iv)

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[1] [The dates used on the coins of native States are not always correct. Some times earlier dates continued on older coins. So the evidence of these dies is not acceptable for the suggestion made by the author.—*P.L.G.*]

in the second line is a circle of dots at the end and the year is inscribed over it; and (v) a branch of tree is found in the top line between *A'* and *lam.*

The legend on the reverse from bottom going upward may be read *San julūs maimnat mānūs zarb Dārul-khilāfat Shāhjahānābād.* A circle of dots is seen after *Mānus.*

The coins having these legends are known of three denominations—rupee, half-rupee (or eight annas) and quarter rupee (or four annas). The rupee coin weighs 165-167 grains.

2. UDAIPURĪ COINS—These coins bear the same legends and symbols as are found on *Chitorī* coins, with an addition of a star over *he* in *Shāh* in the middle (i. e. second) line. **(Pl. VI. 3).** Rupee (weight 165 grains), half-rupee or eight annas (weight 77 grains) **(Pl. VI. 4)** and four annas (weight 38 grains) **(Pl. VI. 5)** are known. Webb mentions two anna and one anna coins also.[1] I have seen a two anna coin with a saraf but none of one anna.

Webb has read the mint name *Udaipur* on the reverse of a coin[2]; but none of the coins published by him or known elsewhere have the mint name Udaipur.

3. MEHTA SHĀHĪ COINS—The legends on these coins are the same as on *Chitorī* and *Udaipurī* coins; they are, however, better executed, the calligraphy is neat and fine; the symbols—the branch of the tree and the five-lined symbol—are better formed. These coins are also better in their silver contents than *Udaipurī* coins. It is quite likely that they are older than *Chitorī* and *Udaipurī* coins. Apart from their execution, the main difference between these coins and other coins, is the absence of the flag in the bottom line **(Pl. VI. 6)** In another coin of this type, in the collection of Mehta Sangram Singh, along with the flag symbol, the five-lined symbol is also missing. Furthermore, the branch of the tree symbol in the uppermost line is simple, constituted of three leaves, and looks like a *triśūla* with dots at the end **(Pl. VI. 7).**

4. BHĪLWĀRA COINS—These coins are similar to *Udaipurī* coins in their legends; but the symbols—(i) flag, (ii) the five-lined symbol and (iii) the branch of the tree—are missing. However, they have a circle of five dots with a central dot below *A'lam* in the top line. Here the name of the ruler may clearly be read as *A'lamgīr.* The coins

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[1] *Currencies of Hindu States of Rajputana,* p. 10.
[2] Ibid., p. 11.

are dated [1]162 A.H. **(Pl. V. 17)**. The silver content in these coins is better than *Udaipurī* coins. These coins were probably Ajmer minted at Bhilwara and were current round about it and also in district.

5. Chāndorī Coins—Some Maratha coins are known as *Chāndorī* ; but they should not be confused with the *Chāndorī* coins of Mewar. These coins were issued during the later part of the reign of Mahārāṇā Bhim Siṁha (1778-1828 A. D.) and continued during the reigns of his successors Jawansiṁha and Sardar Siṁha. These coins were issued at the instance of his sister Chānd Kunwar Bāi. She lived in Udaipur palace and died unmarried. She was a great help to her brother in the management of the state affairs. Mahārāṇā Bhim Singh was very extravagent in expenditure. So, to diminish the burden on the exchequer, coins having less silver than *Chitorī* and *Udaipurī* coins, were issued at her instance. These coins are known after her as *Chāndorī* coins.

According to Webb[1], the *Chāndorī* coins bear the same legend as *Udaipurī* coins ; but the illustration given by him does not seem to suggest any of those legends. Only a part of the word *Shāh* on the obverse and *sīn*, probably of *julūs*, is seen on the reverse.[2]

Copper Coins

Much more obscure is the history of the copper coins of Mewar. Hardly anything is known about them. The coins that may be taken to be current during the eighteenth and nineteenth century are those that are called old *Bhilwārā Paisā* and were current at Bhilwara, Jahazpur, Mandargarh and their vicinity. None of the coins, so designated, bear the complete legend. However, I have been able to restore the legend after careful and patient examination of a large number of coins.

Obv. *Sikkā mubārak Bādshāh Gāzī Ahmad Shāh Bahādur.* A lotus symbol based on *ye* of *Gāzī* ; a circle of dots with a dot in centre above *mubārak* and another circle of dot over *re* of *mubārak.*

Rev. *San 4 julūs maimanat mānūs zarb Sawāī Jaipur.*

(Pl. VII. 16-18)

These legends show that the coins were struck during the reign of emperor Ahmad Shah (1161-1167 A. H.=1748-1754 A.D.) and were minted at Sawai Jaipur and not at Bhilwara. If

[1] Ibid., p. 11.

[2] Ibid., pl. I, 22.

these coins were minted at Bhilwara, as Webb has said without reading the legends,[1] there is no apparent reason to have the name of Sawai Jaipur for the mint. It is quite likely that Jahazpur, Mandargarh, and Bhilwara being quite close to Jaipur territory, the coins of Jaipur might have passed to these places and accepted for local transations.

The Bhilwara copper coins are quite similar to the silver Jaipur coin illustrated by Webb[2]; only the lotus over *he* of *Shāh* is missing in the latter and the date is 6 R. Y. and also bears the Hijri year 1166. This further strengthens the above supposition. Webb himself admits that old copper *Jharshahi* coins of Jaipur were current in large quantity in Bhilwara.[3] Of these coins, those that are known to me, weigh 245, 252, 270 and 224 grains.

Similar coins but with the mint name *Devagarh* in place of Jaipur on reverse are also found current in the Bhilwara area. They were perhaps struck from some die similar to that described earlier. They weigh in the proximity of 139 grains **(Pl VII 21).**

During the reign of Bhim Singh (A. D. 1778-1828), vassal chiefs of Salumber and Bhinder took advantage of his weakness and issued coins for themselves, without any authority. These coins are known as *Padamshāhī* and *Bhindariā* respectively.

PADAMSHĀHI COINS—This was a coin of 35 grains and valued 2 pies and was issued by Rawat Padma Singh of Salumber and its currency was confined to Salumber Jāgir **(Pl. VII. 23).**

BHINDARIĀ COINS—This was a coin of 142 grains and was issued by Mahāraj Zorawar Singh of Bhinder **(Pl. VII. 24).** These coins were short-lived and their minting was soon stopped by the orders of Mahārāṇā.

Another coin, quite common in Udaipur town, had been *Dhingaliā paisā.* These coins were manufactured by the *kansārās* (copper-smiths) at Umerda copper mines, some six miles from Udaipur town, under contract from the State. It is not known under what circumstances the contracts were given to these *kansārās* and when. These coins bear some illegible scribblings of Persian script with some irregular marks of dots and double trident **(Pl. VII. 4-5).**

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1. Ibid., p. 14.
2. Ibid., pl. VII. 1.
3. Ibid., p. 79.

Mahārāṇā Swarūp Siṁha (1842-1861)

In the reign of Mahārāṇā Swarup Siṁha, the coinage of Mewar was reorganised. He introduced two types of silver coins :

1. New Chāndorī Coins—This was meant to replace the old *Chāndorī* coins, which had the Persian script and were given in his time to bards and Brāhmaṇas by way of charity. Swarup Siṁha dispensed off the Persian script and introduced new dies bearing various symbols, which apparently bear no significance **(Pl. VI. 8).** It is said that the design for this coin was drawn by the Mahārāṇā himself.

The coins with the new dies were of the denomination of rupee, half-rupee, quarter-rupee, two annas and one anna, and they weighed 167, 86, 42, 21 and 10 grains respectively **(Pl. VI. 8-12)**. Like the old *Chāndorī* coins, these coins were also debased. The rupee valued twelve annas in the state transactions, but in market it was accepted only for six annas i.e. at the metallic value. Coins of smaller denominations were valued in the same proportion.

Coins of debased gold were also issued from the dies of silver coins for the purpose of charity and gift and were distributed on ceremonial occasions **(Pl. VI. 13).** Such gold coins continued to be issued till the reign of Mahārāṇā Bhūpal Singh (1930–1948 A. D).

2. Swarūpashāhī Coins—The silver coins that were current in Mewar were of numerous types and were liable to easy fabrication. So, large quantity of counterfeit coins were being imported in the state. To stop this menace, Mahārāṇā Swarup Singh desired to issue a quite new coinage with Nagari script and asked Mehta Sher Singh to take up the matter with Lt. Col. Robinson, the then Political Agent of the British Government, posted at Nimuch. He very much appreciated the idea and approved the issue of new coinage.

Consequently, the new coinage was issued in V. S. 1908 (1851-52 A.D.) of the denominations of rupee **(Pl. VI. 14),** half-rupee **(Pl. VI. 15),** quarter-rupee **(Pl. VI. 16),** two annas **(Pl. VI. 17)** and one anna **(Pl. VI. 18-19),** weighing respectively 168, 84, 41, 21 and 10 grains. All the coins had the full legends as follows, with separate dies meant for each denomination.

Obv. चित्रकूट

उदयपुर

Below, symbols representing the hills of Mewar,

Rev. Within double circles made of seven broken segments, an octafoil containing :

दोस्ति
लंधन

The rupee was valued at 17 annas *Chitorī* and continued to be issued till 1930 A. D.

Gold pieces, for the use as *Nazar* on ceremonial occasions, were also issued occasionally with the above dies of silver. Such pieces are rare **(Pl. VI. 20.)**.

Copper Coins

Whether copper coins had any change during the reign of Mahārāṇā Swarūp Siṁha is not certain. But it is quite likely that the copper coin, which is known as *Trisūliā Paisā*, the antecedents of which are not known, might have had its origin in his time. Like the New *Chāndorī* silver coins, these copper coins do not have any inscription ; they merely have on the obverse two tridents placed in opposite directions and three lines intersecting each other placed on their side to form a *chakra* of eight spokes—six being simple ones and the other two of trident. On the reverse is a trident with small circles on either side **(Pl. VII. 14)**. On some coins of this type a flag is seen on the obverse to the right of the tridents **(Pl VII. 15)**. Only the absence of the inscription has lead me to attribute these coins to Swarup Siṁha.

The value of the *Trisūliā Paisā* was two pies and its weight was 85 grains in the former variety and 101 grains in the latter variety.

Another copper coin, which is known as New *Bhilwārā Paisā*, **(Pl. VII. 22)** weighing 245 to 252 grains, seems to have been issued in V.S. 1942 (1885 A.D.). Webb has given an illustration of the coin, but he was unable to say as to when the coin was issued. He contented himself by saying that the coin was more modern.[1] But the drawing given by him shows the year *1942* to the right of *Shah Bahadur*. He has taken it to be *Muhammad*. The coin may be described as follows :

Obv. (*Sikkā Mubārak*) *Bādshāh Gāzī 1942* (*Shāh Bahādur*). The legend is a crude copy of the legend of Ahmad Shah and *Ahmad* has been replaced with the date 1942. Symbols same as on old Bhilwara coins.

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[1] Ibid,, p. 15.

Rev. Crude copy of the reverse legend of Mughal coins with the mint name *Sawāi Jaipur*, which is denoted only by the initial letters *sīn* and *jīm*.

Similar coins weighing 147 grains **(Pl. VII. 19)** and 48 grains **(Pl. VII. 20)** are also known. They are perhaps the coins of the value of *half-paisa* and *pie* i.e. 1/12th of an anna, respectively.

These coins were not minted at the State mint but were struck by a contractor named Adimal Chaudhury of Bhilwara on behalf of the State. His grandson showed me the place where these coins were being minted and also told me that these coins were sometimes called as *Ādi Shāi Paisā*.

Then probably for a long time no copper coins were minted, or if minted, they were issued from the old dies or of old patterns. In V. S. 1975 (1918 A.D.) an experiment was made to issue *paisa* of a new type weighing about 26 grains **(Pl. VII. 7)**. Then in V. S. 1978 (1921 A. D.), when the scarcity of small pies was felt, a small round coin of the weight of 29 grains **(Pl. VII. 6)** was issued as follows :

Obv. उदयपुर

Rev. चितोड स० १९७८

These coins were minted at the State mint. But cost involved in manufacturing them was high ; so their minting was discontinued.

Bhūpāl Siṁha (1930-1955 A.D.)

Inspite of the *Swarūpshāhī* coins, old silver coins remained in circulation. Along with them a large number of forged coins were also in currency. It was not easy for common people to distinguish between genuine and spurious coins. All the State treasuries and District headquarters had to maintain a staff of assessors to scrutinise each coin that passed through them and punch on the edge to authenticate them. This kind of special check in the private sector was neither possible nor convenient. So, in the time of Mahārāṇā Fateh Siṁha, it was decided to issue milled-edge coins of the pattern of British Indian coins. In V.S. 1985 (1928 A.D.) the design of the coinage was approved ; but the actual coins could only be issued about two years later in V. S. 1987 in the reign of Mahārāṇā Bhūpāl Siṁha. So, they are sometimes called *Bhupālshāhī* coins, though they retain the old date V. S. 1985.

These coins were minted at the Imperial Mint, Alipur, Calcutta, in the following quantity :

Rupee	1,49,05,600
Half-rupee	6,48,000
Quarter-rupee	8,39,396
Two anna	8,00,000
One-anna	32,62,224

These total value of this new silver coinage amounted to Rs. 1,57,43,338.

On the introduction of this new coinage, all the old coins i.e. *Udaipurī, Chitorī, Bhilwārī, Mehtāshahī*, were withdrawn on 1st March 1931 and from that date they ceased to be legal tender of the State. Some six months later the *Swarūpshāhī* coins were also withdrawn, and they were exchanged at the rate of 17 annas *Chitorī*.

These coins may be described as follows :

Obv. Within a the lotus creeper encircled in two linial circles :

१)
चित्रकूट उदयपुर
Below, the fort of Chitor.

Rev. Within a circle as above :

दोस्ति
लंधन
१९८५
वि

All the coins have milled edge.

Different dies were used for the coins of different denominations but all have the same pattern. They were rupee, half-rupee, quarter-rupee, two annas and one anna, and weigh 168, 85, 42, 21 and 13 grains respectively **(Pl. VI. 21-22; VII. 1-3)**.

Copper Coins

In about 1938 A.D. a new kind of pies weighing about 26 to 29 grains was struck at the State mint, with the dies having Swastika, lotus, double trident and a cross **(Pl. VII. 8, 9, 10)**. These were also known *Dhingaliā paisā*.

In 1941, the price of copper shot up and the heavy copper coins of the Mewar State began to be exported as metal. This neccesitated the introduction of the Act known as The Mewar Copper Coinage Act II of 1941 by which only *Dhingaliā Paisā* and *Kaldār* (machine-made) copper coins of British India were recognised as legal tender and all other copper coins current in the State were withdrawn from circulation. By a further notification, the *Trisuliā* coins were admitted as legal tender at the rate of 6 per *Chitorī* anna. The *Bhilwara* paisa was valued at 48 per *Chitorī* rupee. Other coins, which were neither *Kaldār* (machine-made), nor *Dhingaliā* and *Triśūliā*, were acceptable at the treasury by weight at the rate of one and a half rupees Chitori per seer.[1] The coins that were enumerated under this category were: (1) Jodhpuri; (2) Kambata or Dungarpuri; (3) Old Bundi; (4) New Bundi; (5) Kotah; (6) Bundelkhandi; (7) Nimaheri (8) Jhalrapatan; (9) Old Pali; (10) New Pali; (11) Punjabi; (12) Madrasi; (13) Bikaneri; (14) Rewari; (15) Karnati; (16) Jaipuri. But along with this, many types of ancient copper coins viz. Indo-Sassanian, Pathan, Mughal, Malwa and Gujarat coins were also seen in the market being sold as copper.

The State also issued in the following years copper coins of three new denominations, anna, half-anna and quarter-anna as follows:

HALF-ANNA—Round, weight 54 grains.

Obv. Within circle of dots:

चित्रकूट
उदयपुर
आध आना

Rev. Within circle of dots:

दोस्ति
लंधन
१९९९

(Pl. VII. 11)

QUARTER-ANNA—Square with round edges; weight 32 grains.

Obv. Within a square, rising sun; below,

चित्रकूट
उदयपुर
१९९९

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[1] Seer at Udaipur was equal to 108 *Udaipuri* rupees.

Rev. Within a square :

दोस्ति
लंधन
पाव आना

(Pl. VII. 12).

ANNA—Hexagonal ; weight 81 grains.

Obv. Within circle of dots :

-)
चित्रकूट
उदयपुर
Below, the fort of Chitor.

Rev.

दोस्ति
लंधन
२०००

(Pl. VII. 13)

The exchange rate of *Chitorī* coins and the British India *Kaldār* (machine-made) coins were always fluctuating and thus people were put to trouble and the trade was affected. So, by Mewar Currency Act XI of 1942, the British coins were recognised as legal tender in the State and their value was at par with *Chitorī* coins.

Some years later, after the World War II, the price of silver began to rise ; consequently, people began to melt the *Chitorī* silver coins. This lead the Mewar State to withdraw the *Chitorī* silver coins from circulation and to recognise the British India coinage as legal tender. Since then the Silver coinage of Mewar ceased to exist.

Copper coins, however, continued to be accepted as legal tender till 1953. In that year, they were withdrawn by the Rajasthan Government, as by then the Republic of India coins had gone through a wide circulation in the State.

BANARAS MINT AND THE ZARI INDUSTRY

Q. *AHMAD*

This is the second and concluding part of the paper published earlier, on the Functioning and Scope of the Banaras Mint in the 18th century.[1] As has been explained in the earlier paper a consolidated report was prepared in 1801 on the working of the Banaras Mint in answer to a questionnaire framed with a view to collecting information on two main points, viz. (I) The working of the Mint, process of coining and emoluments of the Mint workers, etc. and (II) the connection between the world-famed *Zari*[2] industry of Banaras and the local Mint. The present paper relates to the second.

The Banaras Mint Committee was asked to furnish information on the following queries :

(A) Whether the principal Mint Officer Amba Shunker[3] and Cawn Das[4] exercised any control over the manufacture of Gold and Silver threads and if so, what ?

(B) What connection these manufacturers had with the Mint ?

(C) Nature of the office of the *Chaudhries* of the various manufacturers of Gold and Silver thread, the emoluments attached thereto and the number of persons holding this 'job' ? Could the *Chaudhries* be considered as officers of the Mint ?

(D) If the connection between the Mint and the Manufacturers was cut off, would it cause loss to the trade and inconvenience to the traders ?

(E) How far the various manufacturers established in Banaras could be considered as constituting the prosperity of the city ?

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1. *JNSI.*, XXIV, pp. 115-129.
2. *Zari* industry comprised, primarily, embroidery works on clothes with threads made out of flattened Gold and Silver and weaving of fine cloth-pieces. It also included the manufacture of a host of other side-products.
3. He was the *Dārogha* of the Banaras Mint.
4. He, too, held the farm of Banaras Mint for some time.

The answers to these queries were given as below:

A. The *Dārogha* of the Mint had 'supervisory' powers over the various classes of manufacturers and he "could settle all the their matters". The Assay Master, however, had no such powers. (His duties were purely technical, whereas the *Dārogha*, besides his technical duties, also had administrative powers.)

There were four classes of manufacturers connected with the Mint.

1. *Powteās* or Gold and Silver Wire Drawers. This class consisted of 9 persons only who claimed the privileges of the trade on grounds of ancient usage. On the death of any one of these manufacturers, the next lineal descendent succeeded to the trade. Their workshops were contiguous to the Mint.

2. *Tāneeas* or Manufacturers of Gold and Silver Threads. It was a large class consisting of 1200 workmen.

3. *Chuppereeas* or Manufacturers of *Bādlā* or flattened Gold and Silver threads. It consisted of 1200 workmen.

An apprentice to the trade paid Rs. 5/- in the Mint as an entrance fee. Of this, 4/5 was credited to the Government and 1/5 distributed among the various Mint Officers as detailed below:

Dārogha and *Wazankash*, 1/3 each; the remaining 1/3 was distributed equally among the *Mushriff Tahvēldār* and *Rowennā*.[1]

Batunhārās or Manufacturers of Gold and Silver lace. There were 1200 workers of this class. An apprentice of this class paid Rs. 3 and 2 annas into the Mint which was appropriated in the same manner and proportion as stated above.

B. *Process of Making Silver Threads from Bullion.*

The silver from which these manufactures are prepared was sent by the merchants, in the first instance, to the Mint where it was formed into ingots or *Pāssā* for the purpose of being drawn into 'wire'. The ingots were checked by the Assay Master and if they contained the established proportion of alloy (which was 6 to 8 grains in weight of a rupee) they were stamped with *Dārogha*'s seal and delivered to the merchants on payment of Government Duties at the following rates:

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[1] The duties and remunerations of these Officers are discussed in the earlier article.

		Rs.	As.	Ps.
Pāssā or ingots made from Chāndī (Silver) (Silver) Bullion per 100 *tolā*.	...	2	8	0
Do, *Jennis*—(all silver coins except current *Sicca* Rupees of Calcutta, Patna, Murshidabad and Banaras Mints) per 100 *tola*	...	2	0	0
Do, *Sanaut* (Rupees of the above mentioned Mints) per 100 *tola*.	...	0	15	0
Do, *Goteē* (silver obtained from burnt emboidery and *Chēda* fragments of *Pāssā*) per 100 *tola*.	...	1	5	6

A discount of 1½ annas to ½ anna was allowed *on the last two named kind of Pāssā* in favour of the firms of (i) Gopal Das and Goal Das and (ii) Umi Chand Cawn (Khan ?) respectively as their ancestors were concerned (connected) with the Mint.

A merchant upon first entering in the trade and after being entitled to send his silver in the Mint for conversion into *Pāssā* paid Rs. 70/- as entrance money. One-fifth of it was distributed among officers of the Mint as detailed above and 4/5 was credited to the Government. He paid entrance fee again before being entitled to have his *Pāssā* made into wire.

The various classes of merchants paid the entrance fee as following :

		Rs.	As.	Ps.
Brahman and *Chutri Bādfarōsh*[1]	...	250	0	0
Gujrātī and *Agarwālā*	...	125	0	0
Sunni Zargurs[2]	...	45	0	0

Of this amount, too, 1/4 was paid in the Mint of which 1/5 was distributed among the officers in the proportion described above and the balance credited to Government. The remaining 3/4 were deposited with one Sadanand Das, an agent on behalf of the merchants. This money was spent during festivals and distributed in charities. Out of this money, the *Dārogha* of the mint received an annual present of Rs. 100 during winters. The Assay Master was paid Rs. 4/- for maintaining correct weights. Every dealer in *Pāssā* also paid Rs. 1/- at the time of *Dussehra*, which was distributed among the officers.

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[1] *Bādlā* is a kind of twisted and expandable wire drawn out of Gold or Silver. It is also used for making decorative designs on clothes. *Bādlāfarosh* is one who sells these.

[2] It appears as if this fee was graded on community considerations. The Muslims and up-country traders enjoyed concessions, as against the local traders. It is rather surprising.

C. *Controlling Power of Dāroghā on Ingots for making Gold and Silver Wire.*

The *Powteās* were required on all occasions to submit the ingots, which they received from the merchants, to the inspection of the *Dāroghā* of Mint. They could not proceed to the next stage in the manufacture of wires from ingots, until these had been checked and passed by the *Dāroghā*. Similarly all Gold had to be presented in the Mint for weighing, etc. before it was manufactured. For this a Government Duty of 3 annas (per tola ?) was levied.

D. *Chaudhries or Agents of the Manufacturers and Workers in the Mint.*

The *Chaudhries* were not the officers of the Mint. They were agents for the different manufacturers and were paid by them. Their duty was to send for different workmen and to inform them when their services were required. They also arranged meetings of the manufacturers on the occasions of various festivals. The emoluments of the *Chaudhries* employed by the different classes were :

1. *Chaudhries* of *Taneeās* received annas 8 and some sweets from every apprentice on his entrance. In addition, they received Re. 1/- from every person engaged in Gold and Silver thread trade. Also one *Tunga* (probably *takā*) in a Rupee on all sums paid to the workers who were employed through his Agency.

2. The *Chaudhries* of *Chupereeās* received a rupee and some sweetmeats from apprentices. They also received a Rupee from every person entering into the *Bādlā* trade and one *Tunga* (*takā* ?) per Rupee as above.

3. The *Chaudhries* of the *Batunhārās* received six annas from apprentices and 2 pices per month from traders in lace.

E. The merchants and dealers objected to the separation of their trade from the Mint. They entertained the apprehension of the ingots being debased if processed otherwise than through the Mint, and adversely effecting the interests of the trade.

The Local Committee "fully admitted the strength" of their objections and they did not recommend any alteration "in the existing mode of conducting the manufacture" so far as the *Powteās* and Wire drawers were concerned. But the Committee saw no reason in excercise of any control by the Mint over the other class of manufacturers. It appeared to the Committee that they suffer much from "vexatious impositions, oppressive to themselves and injurious to the Government's interest." About these impositions, the Committee pointed out to various enclosures of their report.[1] If these impositions were removed, the Committee thought, the Government would benefit much from increased export of the manufactured goods.

On the receipt of this comprehensive Report, the Fort William Mint Committee[2] observed that the continuance of the Banaras Mint and its coinage was necessary both by the practical considerations and historical necessity. They said that separate coins were current in Banaras as distinct from those in the Lower Provinces and the Calcutta Mint could not meet the requirements of both the areas. Moreover, a Permanent Settlement had been reached with the Banaras *Zamindārs* that they had to pay their revenues in Banaras coins.

The Mint Committee expressed their opinion that this step would 'incidentally' earn the goodwill of Banaras merchants, too. They would be saved from the necessity of sending their bullions to a distant place to be coined. A close inter-connection existed between the Mint and the *Zari* workers who, to a great extent, contributed to the prosperity of the town. If the Mint was abolished, the *Zari* workers would demand some similar institution which would meet their requirements. The motive of the Banaras *Zari* workers and weavers in demanding the continuance of the Mint was the same "which suggested the importation of artists and manufacturers of many towns in Europe and that the object of both the institutions was the same, viz. to prevent the intrusion of improper person who might debase the metal and injure the trade".

The Barlow Report[3] and the present one, together, give us a comprehensive idea of all the aspects of the Banaras Mint and their importance, particularly the influence that the Mint had on a local industry. It shows that the Mint was not merely a Government Department performing the technical and non-productive work of coinage, but it also performed a wider, industrial function.

Zari industry was not exclusive to Banaras. Patna, for instance, had its own flourishing *Zari* industry. There are still several *Mohallās* in the old quarters of Patna, which bear

1. Cf. *JNSI.*, XXIII, pp. 207-215.
2. *Mint Committee Proc.*, No. 15, dated 25th May, 1802.
3. *JNSI.*, XXIII, pp. 198-215, and XXIV, pp. 115-129.

names like *Darāb-ṭolī*[1] and *Zārgar-ṭolī*, signifying that once a sizeable population of workers of the *Zari* industry lived in those *Mohallās.* It is not unlikely that the Patna Mint also contributed to the industry as did Banaras mint. But unfortunately we have no report about it.

Dāroghā of the Banaras Mint had also the power of levying customs duties on Precious stones.[2] It thus appears that the mints in the later Mughal period, performed a wider task than merely minting coins. It would be interesting if some competent scholar takes up the study of non-coining functions of Mints in various parts of the country.

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[1] A class of workers who manufacture gold and silver thread used in *Zari* works.

[2] *JNSI.*, XXIII, p. 201.

NUMISMATIC PHOTOGRAPHY

GYULAI FERENC

[Plates VIII-XI]

A good many photographers are interested not only in regular but also in art photography, among other lines. Many photographers collect coins, stamps, plaques, plans, butterflies, or insects, and some even collect paper napkins and book match covers. Many also have the hobby of tropical fish or of plant or reptile specimens. These collectors, then, have the habit of taking pictures of their whole collections or special parts of their collections because it is simpler to mail prints than to ship certain pieces or to carry them. In a few words, I will relate my experiences in photographing coins, plaques and medals. It is my purpose to help those who are just getting started as well as those who are already practising the fine points. Perhaps I can bring to their attention something they did not know before.

The Camera

I take all my pictures with an Exakta Varex camera with a Steinheil Auto-Quinon f : 1, 9-55 mm. focal length lens. For scientific and reproductive pictures of any kind, the best camera to use is the reflex type. The big advantage of this type is that one can see on the ground glass exactly what will be photographed. By using rings to mount the lens of this camera farther from the plane of the film, one is able to obtain greater enlargement of the image. By using ground glass, he is able to control the light on the object, the size of the picture, and greater depth of focus (sharpness).

Another advantage of the reflex camera is that one can check the illumination of subject. With the reflex camera, I am able to make either a time exposure or a very short exposure (fractions of, or whole seconds). The reason why I choose the Exakta is that I can control the exposure in a range from 12 seconds to 1/1000 of a second.

Recommended Aids

When one takes pictures of numismatic subjects, he will find a big aid is a clear piece of glass, without flaws, approximately 18×24 cms. (7 × 8 in.) in size, or a little larger. Black paper (not glossy) of close texture, black velvet, or non-glossy white paper, should be used as background. When taking colour pictures, different soft pastel colours in paper or velvet should be used.

It is very important that one uses a lamp which is movable and which gives an even distribution of light in any direction. In many instances, a polarizing filter is of great value. Two such filters are needed, one on the camera and the other on the lamp. It is also very desirable that a piece of cardboard containing a scale be placed next to the coin, so that exact dimensions of the piece may be determined **(Pl. VIII. 1)**. The scale can be eliminated when the reproduction is made. By using the scale, especially with small coins, they may be enlarged to show detail and the actual size of the coin may be determined without difficulty. As a rule, the very small coins pictured in books and other publications are enlarged two or three times their normal sizes.

The Photographic Process

There is no general rule which I can give for photographing coins uniformly because coins are of different metals and have many others differences. One has to determine for himself, through trial and error, if one has the right background, light and exposure time.

From the point of view of photography, the coins must be divided into different groups ; *Group 1* according to surface—if it is patinated, matte or shiny ; *Group 2* according to the material—if it is gold, silver, bronze, brass, nickel, aluminium, iron or steel ; and *Group 3* according to the die—if the relief is high, flat or worn.

As it can be seen from the above, there can be no one rule. One must change one's technique from coin to coin.

Now let us take a look at what a good numismatic picture should be. It has to approach reality and the inscription must be sharp and completely legible. The picture has to show, as on the real coin, whether the coin contains diebreaks **(Pl. VIII. 2)**, counterstamps **(Pl. VIII. 3)** or re-engravings or doublestrikes **(Pl. IX. 1)**.

The Background

When taking a picture, one must be careful to ensure that the object is in sharp contrast with its background. Nothing in the picture should distract the viewer's attention.

The background should be perfectly level to avoid objectionable shadows which might be cast by some of the lights. If one uses four lamps of the same intensity and at the same distance from the coin, it is very important to place the coin on white paper in order to get a sharp image of the edge.

A good reproduction of a coin results from proper control of shadows. If one adds too much light or too much from one side, a shadow on the white background will develop on one side of the coin. In a case like this, the coin is not placed directly on the background, but on a small square of glass, and set at such a distance that the shadow does not fall on the background (**Pl. IX. 2**—F is the camera ; E, the coin ; and H, the background).

By using a deep matte background, the distracting shadows are avoided, regardless of where the lights are placed. If such a background is used, the glass square may be omitted. **Pl. IX. 3** shows the same coin, and, as one can see, the results are the same. The only difference is that in one case a white and in the other a black background was used.

By completely diffused lights, shadows are avoided. To accomplish this, a thin white paper or piece of spun glass should be placed before the lamp so that only a diffused light shines on the coin. (See light box, **Pl. IX. 4** and **X. 1**). It is very necessary that the light diffused is of the same intensity as that reflected from the opposite side of the coin. Otherwise, there will not be an even distribution of light on the coin.

One must always choose the colour of the background according to the coin which is to be reproduced. For colour photography, even when matte pastel colour is used, one must select that which brings out the coin best. In any case, it should not be a distracting influence from the coin.

The Light

The shadow depends in general on how many lamps are used and where they are located. As can be seen in **Pl. X. 3**, the angle of the light beam is almost straight onto the surface of the coin—about 85 degrees. By using such an angle, one can expect the least shadow and consequently, the lowest contrast. Very seldom, then, will one take a picture with such a direction of the lamp, only when the die is very high or the design is very small. By using the light from a lower angle, one gets a pronounced shadow, with a consequent modelling of the surface of the coin and accentuation of relief detail.

Mostly the pictures should be taken with the lamp located as in **Pl. X. 4,** the angle of the light beam being directed from about 30 to 60 degrees onto the surface of the coin. This way, one gets the strongest contrast between the relief image and its surrounding surface.

In **Pl. XI. 1,** the angle of the light is almost at the level of the surface of the coin. The illumination highlights the raised surfaces and throws deep shadow into the depressions. Thus maximum contrast is created between the raised and depressed areas. The angle of the light beam is only about 5 degrees. This method should be adopted only when the die is very low or the coin shows much wear from circulation.

Clarity with which the design shows in the finished photograph depends also on the height of the die. Whenever the photographer has a high and evenly distributed die before him, when legend and small details are very sharp, and when the ornaments are not too close together, the result will be a good picture if the lamp is situated on a high point, or the light of two lamps is used from different directions. The height of the die greatly influences the height of the lamp and angle of the light beam. This must be taken into consideration if one it to avoid shadow from one part of the die overlapping another part. With a high die, use of diffused light (**Pl. IX. 4** and **X. 1**) will be of great advantage.

Polaroid Filter

One is able to take pictures of coins with matte surface or patina without being disturbed by reflections. But by the afore-mentioned methods, it may not be possible to take pictures of shiny surfaces because the disturbing highlights or reflections, then, may not be eliminated. The method of diffused light could be used but this would not solve the problem completely ; when light from the lamp does not reflect on the shiny surface of the coin, reflections still may come from the white paper. Then, too, pictures of all dies cannot be taken in a diffused light.

The polaroid filter is able to eliminate those reflections on a plane which is at an angle of 35 degrees. The angle may change depending upon the nature of surface of the reflecting material. One polaroid filter alone, however, may not eliminate the reflections. Two such filters may therefore be used in front of the light source and the other on the lens. **Pl. XI. 2** and **3** illustrate two photographs, the former taken without a polaroid filter and the latter taken with a polaroid filter and a polaroid light.

Exposure Time

There is no hard and fast rule on the time of exposure. It depends not only on the sensitivity of the film, but also on the intensity of the light, the coin itself, and the color of the background. All have their influences. The use of rings and polariod filters will prolong the time of the exposure. It is too bad that we are unable to use a regular light-metre ! Of very good service is the built-in exposure meter with battery which comes with the Exakta Varex and other cameras. Through its use, the time of the exposure can be determined exactly. It measures the volume of light which passes through the lens onto the negative material.

Enlargement

It makes quite a difference on which grade of paper the negative is enlarged. On negatives of coins where the elevation does not show up suficiently, or where there is insufficient contrast, a harder grade of paper is helpful. I illustrate two pictures where a normal grade material has been used for the negative; in **Pl. XI. 4** the enlargement was made on medium grade paper, and in **Pl. XI. 5**, on hard grade paper. Strong contrasts are used on a low die or on coins much worn from circulation.

Key to Illustrations

All photos were made with an Exakta Varex camera, equipped with a 55mm., f 1, 9 lens. Agfa-Isopan 17 Din. (A.S.A. 40) film was used.

Plate VIII—1. Roman coin, Licinius Pater.
2. Diebreak.
3. Counterstamp.

Plate IX— 1. Mint error.
2. Shadow-eliminating station. F, cammera ; E, coin ; H, background.
3. Picture of coin on white and black backgrounds.
4. Light box for furnishing completely diffused light.

Plate X— 1. Evenly diffused light.
2. A coin photographed by this light.
3, 4 and XI. 1. Different positions of the lamp and resulting pictures.

Plate XI— 2. Photo without polaroid filter.
3. With polaroid filter and polaroid light.
4. From medium-grade negative on medium-grade paper.
5. The same negative used on hard paper,

13

MISCELLANEA

1

FRACTIONAL DENOMINATION OF A COIN OF TAXILA

[Plate II]

The practice of cutting coins in an emergency to use as fractional denominations of the original is well known and has been resorted to frequently in the West. Instances are not quite so common in the East.

Dr. P. L. Gupta of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, when shown the coin which forms the subject matter of this note, stated he had found fractional punch-marked coins in some of the hoards he had examined which he considered had been cut intentionally to serve as coins of smaller denomination.

The coin, **(Pl. II. 2)** is of Taxila and resembles the type listed by Dr. John Allan in his *Catalogue of Indian Coins, (Ancient India)*, pages 223 to 225, under Class 2, Variety (a), and illustrated on Plates XXXII, Nos. 17-22 and XXXIII, No. 1.

Obv. Elephant to right with a chaitya surmounted by a crescent above the elephant.

Rev. Lion to left with a chaitya surmounted by a crescent to the left of the lion and a *swastika* over the lion's back (all within an incuse square).

(Pl. II. 1 & 3)

Of the eighteen coins catalogued by Allan, the heaviest is 226.0 grains and the lightest 66.5 grains.

The cut coin has on its obverse the rear half of the elephant and on the reverse, within an incuse, the rear half of the lion. This cut specimen weighs 70.0 grains and exceeds quarter of the weight of Allans heaviest coin, but is approximately of the same weight as a coin catalogued by him of 71.5 grains. Two other coins mentioned by Allan weigh only 68.0 and 66.5 grains.

The circumstances leading to the cutting may have been the depreciation of the currency, resulting in a reduction in weight, to some new standard. This could have been provided for by cutting the existing heavy coins, as also by the introduction of a new issue of lighter weight.

This would appear to be confirmed from the particulars furnished by Allan as they tend to show a sharp, but steady, fall in the weight standard during the period coins of this type were in circulation.

C. H. BIDDULPH

2

A NOTE ON SOME COINS AND A SEAL IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

R. R. Tripathi and S. C. Kala deserve our congratulations for recently bringing to light[1] some very interesting coins of the Allahabad Museum cabinet.

Tripathi's coin no. 1 (ibid., pl. II, 1) shows in the centre a pillar inside a railing, surmounted by a fish-like object.[2] Tripathi reads the border Brāhmī legend on the coin as *hathiparasa* and thinks that the coin was probably issued in the name of the city Hastipura or Hastināpur. On the basis of the symbol he tries to associate the coin with the *swayamvara* of Draupadī, the daughter of king Drupada of Pañchāla.

It is difficult to agree with Tripathi's views on these points. The find-place of the coin is not known from the Museum-records. The reverse of the coin is blurred. Probably it contained the figure of a bull or some other Kauśāmbī symbols. It appears that the coin was found at Kauśāmbī. No such coins as the present one are known from Hastināpur. That town had lost its glory long before 100 B. C., the time to which this coin may be assigned. But for the fish-like object at the top, all the symbols on this coin are the well-known Kauśāmbī symbols. The coin may therefore be attributed to Kauśāmbī, and not to Hastināpur. The latter place at this time was under the sway of the Pañchāla rulers, whose coins are known from the recent Hastināpur excavations. The *swayamvara* of Draupadī was not held in Hastināpur but in Kāmpilya, the capital of the southern Pañchāla.

[1] *JNSI.*, XXIV, pp. 20-23, pl. II, 1-7 ; p. 139, pl. II, 8-11.

[2] See such symbol on some Taxila coins; Allan, *BMC.*, *AI.*, pp. CXXXVI and 229. Tripathi's remarks are not correct when he says that "no fish has so far been found topping a pole fixed inside a railing", *JNSI.*, XXIV, p. 20.

As regards the legend, it probably indicates not place-name but the name of the issuer king. If we take *Hathipalasa*[1] to be the correct reading, the issuer of the coin would be Hastipāla. Of course, nothing definite can be said about the issuer until we get more reliable evidence.

As regards coin no. 3 of Tripathi (ibid., pl. II, 3), his reading *Malayakanaṁ* is incorrect. As shown by me elsewhere in this issue[2], the correct reading is *Ka(ko)śabikanaṁ* (i.e. "the coin of the people of Kauśāmbī"). In size and weight, the coin in the Allahabad Museum is almost similar to the one published by me.

Again, Tripathi wrongly tries to attribute his coin no. 5 (ibid., pl. II, 5) to the Gupta emperor Samudragupta. No *copper* coins of this ruler are known. Probably he did not issue any.

I have examined the original coin of Tripathi and found that there is no such legend as *Samu(dagupta)* on it. The first two letters on the coin seem to be *Supra*, and not *Samu*. The other two letters above these may be read as *yasa*. The complete reading thus would be *Supra*(or *pri*)*yasa* ("of Supriya"?).

The coin does not show any resemblance to the copper coins of the Gupta emperors.

The last coin, no. 7 (ibid., II, 7), of Tripathi is an important one. The reading *nagama* is quite correct. The coin is similar to the *Negama* coins of Taxila, already known. It is a welcome addition to the numismatic evidence to prove the contention that in Kauśāmbī there were several *śreṇīs* (guilds) which were authorised to issue coins of various types.

S. C. Kala has published[3] two coins bearing the name of Kauśāmbī. On the first coin (pl. II, 9) he reads *Kośāmbī*. On a close examination of the legend in the photograph, I find that it is *Kasabi* (or *-vi*) and not *Kośāmbī*. The reverse of the coin is blurred and hence it is not possible to say definitely that it did not bear the figure of any animal.

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1. Sometimes the left curve in the case of Brāhmī *la* in the Suṅga script is not prominent enough to distinguish. See for example some coins of the Pañchāla king Vaṅgapāla.
2. *Supra*, pp. 20-21.
3. Op. cit., pp. 139-40, pl. II, 9 and 10.

The second coin (II, 10) has wrongly been described by Kala. The correct description should be :

Obv. circle with a dot in the centre. The border-legend around the circle is *Kosaviśa*.

Rev. Bull standing to left. Over the back of the animal at the right corner, Ujjain symbol.

Kala's reading *Kośāmbiya* is not correct. The bull[1] faces to left, not to right. The *dhvaja* is not clear on the coin.

The ivory seal bearing the legend *vaṅgapalasa* has been illustrated by Kala.[2] The angular tendency in the case of *va*, *la* and *pā* seems to indicate a later date for this seal than that of the coins of Vaṅgapāla.[3] This seal may be attributed not to that Pañchāla rulèr but to a local Vaṅgapāla of Kauśāmbī.

The problem of the date of Vaṅgapāla of Pañchāla in relation to the Pabhosā inscriptions is not yet solved. In case the relationship of Vaṅgapāla of the coins with Bṛihaspatimitra (II) of Kauśāmbī is recognized, Vaṅgapāla would have to be placed sometime in the middle of 2nd century B. C., and not earlier, as previously supposed by me.[4]

Kala thinks[5] that Vaṅgapāla of Pañchāla was the maternal grandfather of Bṛihaspatimitra I or II of Kauśāmbī. But it is not so. According to the Pabhosā inscriptions, Vaṅgapāla of Ahichchhatrā was the grandfather of Ashāḍhasena, who was the maternal uncle of Bṛihaspatimitra of Kauśāmbī.

Regarding Kala's point pertaining to the problem of Vaṅgapāla *vis-a-vis* Damagupta, I think I have already made it clear.[6]

K. D. BAJPAI

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[1] It is not correct to suppose that the bull is not known on the coins bearing the city name of Kauśāmbī. More such coins are now known. On a recently acquired coin (to be published by me shortly) the figures of Lakshmi and the bull occur with the name of Kauśāmbī.

[2] *JNSI.*, XXIV, pl. II, 12.

[3] See my paper on the Pañchāla Coins, ibid., pp. 9 ff ; pl. I, 2-4.

[4] Ibid., pp. 14 and 16.

[5] Ibid., p. 136.

[6] Ibid., p. 14 ; ibid., XV, pp. 43-4.

3

THE JOINT ISSUES OF THE KSHATRAPAS HAGĀNA AND HAGĀMASHA

[Plate II]

From Mathura some copper coins bearing the name of Kshatrapa Hagāmasha are known. He is also known to have issued a few coins[1] with another Kashtrapa, Hagāna (probably his elder brother). In the British Museum, there is one such coin. The cabinets of the Indian Museum, Calcutta and the Asiatic Society of Bengal together contain five coins of this joint type.[2]

The main features of this joint issue are a three-line Brāhmī legend *Khatapana Hagāmasa Hagāmashasa*[3] and a peculiar *vajra* symbol shown vertically at the right corner, on the obverse. The reverse has the figure of a standing horse to left.

Smith thinks that at least one (no. 1) of his coins, at top, bears a female figure[4] parallel with the legend. On another coin (no. 3), Smith finds a tree-like symbol below the legend.[5]

Recently a friend of mine at Agra gave me eleven copper coins, most of which were highly encrusted. After cleaning them, I found that ten were the usual Mathura Kshatrapa coins. Only one coin was found to be the joint issue of Hagāna and Hagāmasha. I describe it below :

Copper ; die-struck ; circular, 0.725″ ; 57 grains.

[1] Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87, pl. VIII, 7 ; Allan, *BMC.,AI.*, p. 184, pl. XXVI, 6 ; Smith, *IMC.*, p. 195, coins 1-5.

[2] These are not illustrated by Smith. Coin no. 6 has wrongly been put under the joint category by Smith.

[3] There are slight variations in this legend. Cunningham reads *Hagāna* in the second line ; but it is *Hagānasa.* He reads the first line as *Khatapāna.* Allan reads it as *Khatapana* and Smith as *Khatapānā.*

[4] I do not think it is a female figure. Only traces of some indistinct symbol are seen at the top of such coins.

[5] Traces of a tree can be seen on the coin of Allan also—*BMC.*, XXVI, 6.

Obv. At the top, traces of some indistinct symbol. Below, Brāhmī legend in three lines—

(1) *Khatapasa*

(2) *Hagānasa*

(3) *Hagāmasha*[*sa*]

At the right corner a *vajra* symbol (with circle at the centre) is shown vertically. At the bottom, the front of an animal, probably a deer (?).

Rev. Horse completely blurred.

(Pl. II. 4)

We notice certain peculiarities on the present coin. The first line is read as *Khatapasa* and not *Khatapana.* On the coins of Cunningham, Allan and Smith, the first line is read as *Khatapana* (or *pānā*). The bottom of our coin tends to show clearly a figure which appears like the front part of a deer. This is absent on all other coins of this type known so far.

These joint issues of the two Kshatrapas are rather rare. All the coins discovered so far are circular in shape and are akin, in many respects, to other local coins of Mathura. The peculiar *vajra* symbol is, however, absent on other coins of Mathura of the indigenous type and so also the horse on the reverse.[1]

In so far as the time of the Kshatrapas, Hagāna and Hagāmasha, is concerned, Smith assigns them a period between 125 and 80 B.C. Allan places them in 50-40 B.C. On the basis of paleography, I find it difficult to place them so early. In my opinion, they probably flourished in the middle of the first century A. D.

K. D. BAJPAI

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[1] We find the *vajra* and the horse symbols on the coins of Hagāmasha, Śivadatta and Śivaghosha only, the Kshatrapa rulers of Mathura. Allan, loc. cit., Intro. p. 112. The latter two and a third Kshatrapa Toraṇadāsa, bear Indian names.

4

A NEW COIN OF KING ŚIVAGUPTA OF EASTERN MALWA

[Plate II]

A copper coin from Vidiśā bearing the name of Śivagupta was published by me.[1] Recently I acquired another coin of a different type from Vidiśā and I ascribe it to the same ruler. The coin is described below :

Copper; die-struck ; almost square, 0.5″ × 0.5″; 44 grains.

Obv. Above at left corner, part of the *Shaḍarachakra* symbol ; at the right corner wavy line. In the centre Brāhmī legend *raño savagata*[*sa*].

Rev. Prominent Ujjain symbol with double circles ; between two balls, a taurine symbol (looking like a human figure). **(Pl. II. 5)**

On the basis of palæography the coin can be assigned to early second century B. C.

While going through the pages of Vol. XX of *JNSI.*, I happened to find a similar coin described by Altekar.[2] The coin belongs to B. M. Vyas Collection and is said to have been acquired from Kauśāmbī. The coin is roughly rectangular (0.5″ x 0.4″) and weights 48 grains. From its fabric and type, Altekar felt rather diffident in ascribing the coin to Kauśāmbī. The legend was wrongly read by him as *Sachabhadasa* or *Savabhasasa*. I have carefully examined the photograph of Altekar's coin and feel that the legend on it is (*ra*)*ño savagata*.

The letter after *va*, due to a little encrustation, appears like *bha*. In fact it is Aśokan *ga*. It is followed by *ta* and not by *da* or *sa*. The last letter *sa* is only partly visible.

On my coin the legend is better preserved and I have no hesitation in attributing the coin to Śivagupta. Altekar's coin may have travelled to Kauśāmbī from Vidiśā.

The main feature, besides the fabric and size, which distinguishes the present coin from the coin of Śivagupta already published by me,[3] is the title of *raño*, absent on the

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1. *JNSI.*, XXII, p. 132, pl. VI., 22.
2. *JNSI.*, XX, pp. 144-5, pl. X, 8.
3. F.n. 1 above.

previous coin, which only bears the name *Sivagata*. It appears that he issued at least two types of coins, one circular with his name only, and the other square with the title of *raño* before his name.

That the title of *raño* was used by some kings on their coins in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. is now known to us.[1]

We also know now that at the close of the third century B. C. or in the beginning of the second century B. C, some independent kings ruled over eastern Malwa. Besides Dharmapāla, two other kings bearing *gupta*-ending names are at present known to us.[2] It is hoped that further excavations at Eraṇ, Vidiśā and some other ancient sites in eastern Malwa will yield more reliable evidence in this connection and will help us in giving more definite place to Indragupta and Śivagupta.

K. D. BAJPAI

5

ON THE COPPER COINS OF RĀMAGUPTA

The controversy on the attribution of some copper coins bearing the name of Rāmagupta still continues. When these coins were first discovered, the opinion amongst scholars was divided as regards their attribution. Some scholars believed that these were the coins of Rāmagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, whereas others thought that they might belong to a local dynasty ruling in Madhya Pradesh a little before, or contemporary to, the early Gupta rulers.[3]

Later some more so-called coins of Rāmagupta were published by Dr. H. V. Trivedi[4] and Shri K. D. Bajpai,[5] and both these scholars were of opinion that these coins were issued by Rāmagupta, the Gupta king.

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[1] Kings Sāta (or Sāda)-vāhana of Telangana and Dharmapāla and Indragupta of Eraṇ are known to have used this title on their coins.

[2] See my paper 'New Light on the History of Eraṇ' in *JUPHS*., VIII, p. ii (1960), pp. 47-53, pl. VIII.

[3] P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*., XII, pt. II, pp. 103-6, pl. IX, 1-6; and views of A. S. Altekar and A. K. Narain on same, ibid., pp. 106-7 and 107-11 respectively.

[4] *JNSI*., XIII, pt. II, pp. 128-30, pl. VIII, 1-9.

[5] *JNSI*., Golden Jubilee Volume, pp. 340-44, pl. X. 1-12,

The controversy first takes into account the legend of these coins. Dr. P. L. Gupta, who first published six of these coins, read it as *Rāmagupta*, whereas Dr. A. K. Narain was inclined to read *Rāmagupta* only on two coins and on others he read *maga* or *magaja*. Dr. A. S. Altekar also seemed to agree with Narain's reading. Trivedi's coins also, in my opinion, do not leave scope for reading *Gupta*. On coin No. 3 published by him, I think, the letter is *ja* and not *pa* as read by him. On coin No. 4, the letters are *ma* and *ga*. The last two coins published by him also are similar to coins of group 2 (*maga* or *magaja*) of Narain attributed to the Mālava ruler. Similarly, on the coins No. 1 and 2 of Bajpai, the third letter can be read as *ja* and not *ta* and they also come in Narain's second group. The type, fabric, weight and provenance of these coins clearly indicate that they are none other than Mālava coins. The letters *maga* or *magaja* must be taken as abbreviations of *Mālavagaṇa* or *Mālavagaṇasyajayaḥ*.

As regards the coins of group 1 where the name *Rāma* can be definitely read, Narain and others have already pointed out the difficulties in identifying him with the Gupta king Rāmagupta. Narain had also made a tentative suggestion that Rāmagupta of these coins *may* be a local Mālava or even a Sanakānīka ruler.[1] The argument of Bajpai that since his specimens show *garuḍa*, the coins in question may be attributed to Rāmagupta of Gupta dynasty, whose dynastic emblem was *garuḍa*, is not convincing. The gold coins of Mahendrāditya have also the figure of *garuḍa*, but it is not absolutely certain that they were issued by Kumāragupta I.[2]

In the opinion of most of the scholars, the palæography of the characters of the legend on these coins is a little earlier, or contemporary to, the early Gupta rulers. Recently, however, Dr. D. C. Sircar has expressed his opinion[3] that "Rāmagupta was a chief who issued coins in imitation of the Imperial Gupta money on the decline of the Guptas on the close of the 5th century A. D.," and that the "Palæography of the legend of the coins in question does not appear to militate against this dating." Thus, although, D. C. Sircar accepts the suggestion of Narain and others that the issuer of these coins must have been a local king, he does not agree to the date of the king. In my opinion, most probably, he was contemporary of Kumāragupta I and the successor of Sanakānīka Mahārāja, son of

1. A. K. Narain, op. cit., p. 111.
2. V. P. Rode says, that these coins were issued by Kumāragupta I, but most scholars are against the attribution.
3. *Journal of Indian History*, XL, pt. III, pp. 533 ff.

Mahārāja Vishṇudāsa, known from the Udaigiri inscription. Since Sanakānīka Mahārāja was a feudatory of Chandragupta II, the successor of the former must have continued to be a feudatory of the Guptas, and that is why we find the Gupta emblem, *garuḍa*, on his coins.

NISAR AHMAD

6

ON THE COINS OF ARTTHAPATTI—A NALA RULER

Writing on the problems of Nala coins, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, in his article 'Gold Coins of Three Kings of the Nala Dynasty',[1] identifies the Artthapatti of the Eḍengā hoard, which was discovered in Koṇḍegāon Tahsil of Bastar State in 1939, with Artthapati, the Nala king of Rithapur copper plate inscription.[2] But the identification proposed by him as well as the readings do not convince me.

Prof. Mirashi reads the legend, on the Coin no. 6 of plate V-C, as *Arthapatirājasya*.[3] But the letter after *a* shows, however, *rttha* and not *rtha*. The lower part of the letter is of a slightly roundish form and closed and it looks like *tha*. Above it, appears *ta* and on its top is attached *ra*. These letters are clear on the Coin no. 7 of the same plate. There *tha* is round and has a dot inside. Mirashi reads a single *ta* after *pa* ; but there are clear signs of the letter being a double *ta* i.e. *tta*. The complete legend on the coins thus seems to be *Artthapattirājasya*.

The present Artthapatti can not be identified wite Artthapati of Rithapur copper plates, the successor of Bhavadattavarman, due to reasons given below :

(1) There is difference in the spelling of the name. The copper plate gives Artthapati, with a single *ta*, but the name on the coins is Artthapatti, with a double *ta*.

(2) The character of the letters on the coins totally differ from that of the Rithapur inscription. The letters on the coins show the early form of the box-headed characters while in the inscription they are in a developed form.

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[1] *JNSI.*, I, pp. 29 ff.
[2] *EI.*, XIX, pp. 100 ff.
[3] Mirashi, op. cit., p. 30.

(3) The coins of Varāha[1] and Bhavadatta[2], regarded to be the predecessors of Artthapatti by Prof. Mirashi, exhibit better form of the letters than those of Artthapatti's.

(4) Artistically also the coins of Artthapatti are inferior to those of Varāha and Bhavadatta.

(5) The crescent on the coins of Bhavadatta is very thick. Unlike it, the coins of Artthapatti have very thin crescents. The crescents on the coins of Bhavadatta resemble with those of Varāha's coins.

As regards chronology, Varāha can not be placed after Bhavadattavarman; firstly, because the chronology after Bhavadattavarman leaves no scope for it; secondly, the coins of Varāha also exhibit the early characters. The coins of Bhavadatta and Varāha are similar in many respects to each other. We may therefore put Varāha as the immediate predecessor of Bhavadatta. The present Artthapatti should have flourished earlier than Varāha. At the present stage, we have to presume that Artthapatti of the Eḍengā hoard was the predecessor of Varāha.

NISAR AHMAD

7

A COIN OF DEVAMITRA, KING OF AYODHYĀ

[Plate II]

Several Mitra rulers of Ayodhyā are known to us from their coins found in Ayodhyā and other parts of U. P. On paleographic grounds, these kings can be assigned to the 1st-2nd centuries A. D.

King Devamitra of the Ayodhyā dynasty was so far known to us by a single coin[3] preserved in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. He is unrepresented in the British Museum. Recently, while examining some Ayodhyā coins in my possession, I found one coin of Devamitra also. This is the second known coin of this ruler, so far as I know. It is described below:

Copper; die-struck; round, 0.8″; 93.5 grains.

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[1] Ibid., pl. V-C, 1-4.

[2] Ibid., No. 5.

[3] Published by Smith, *IMC.*, I, pp. 144, 151, pl. XIX, 18.

Obv. Bull standing to left before a standard. The figure of the bull is worn out. Below, clear Brāhmī legend, *devamitasa*.

Rev. Peacock to right standing before plam tree.

(Pl. II. 6)

The coin in the A.S.B. cabinet is almost of the same size, but its weight (136.8 grains) is 1½ times that of the present coin. Both the coins are from different dies, which is borne out by the difference in the figures of the bull, the bird and the tree. The Brāhmī characters on the two are also not similar. The angular forms of *da* and *ma* on Smith's coin are more prominent. The form of *da* in both cases is remarkably different. From the traces of certain letters on the coin of Smith, it appears that the die was struck twice on the coin. This has been noted by Smith.

In so far as the reverse of this series of coins is concerned, the bird occurring thereon has been identified with a cock by Cunningham[1] and Smith.[2] Allan[3], however, thinks that the bird is probably a *haṁsa* (swan). On this wrong identification of the bird, Smith[4] designated this special type of the Mitra coinage as the "Cock and bull" series. I have carefully examined the bird on coins and also on those published by Allan[5] and am of the opinion that the bird is a peacock and not a cock. The bird on the coins published by Cunningham and Smith is not quite distinct and hence they seem to have made an error.

If my identification is correct, the above-mentioned series of the Mitra coinage of Ayodhyā may be termed as the *Bull and peacock*[6] type in place of "Cock and bull" type. The thick wavy line on some of the coins probably represents the river Sarayū on which the town of Ayodhyā stands.

K. D. BAJPAI

1. *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 93-4, p. IX, 12-17.
2. *IMC*., pl. XIX, 17-19.
3. *BMC., AI.*, Intro., p. 89.
4. Smith, Ibid , p. 144.
5. Allan, Ibid., pl. XVII, coins 10, 11, 18 and 20. Compare the figure of the bird with that found on some Gupta gold coins of Kumāragupta. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins*, pl. XI, *Bayana Hoard*, pl. XXIII-XXVI.
6. That this bird abounds in the Ayodhyā region is a well known fact. The choice of the bird by the rulers of Ayodhyā on their coins may have some connection with the old name of the town, Viśākhā. Cf. also the name Viśākhadeva, one of the rulers of Ayodhyā, known from his coins.

8

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF FATH KHAN — SON OF FIRUZ III TUGHLAQ

While working on the coins of the Tughlaq dynasty in the State Museum, Lucknow, my attention was accidentally drawn to a unique gold coin of Prince Fath Khan, son of Firuz Shah III Tughlaq, figured at No. 745 B of the *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 1936, by H. Nelson Wright. This coin, which originally belonged to Sir A. Cunningham, is at present in the collection of the British Museum, London, and is illustrated at Pl. XXI of the above *Catalogue*.

The reverse legend on this coin has been read by him as :

الشرق والغرب
(؟) خبير شاه
فتحخان فيروز
جل الله جلاله

The same coin was described by Mr. Nevill at p. 168 of *JASB., Numismatic Supplement*, No. XXXV, for the year 1921. He read the legend as :

الشرق والغرب
حبيب شاه
فتحخان فيروز
جل الله ظلاله

In his notes published at p. 222 of the above *Catalogue*, Mr. Wright has discussed this matter at length and has said : "In A. H. 760 Firuz Shah invested his son Fath Khan with the insignia of royalty, among them being the right of issuing coins in his own name. As observed in *JASB., N. S.*, XXXV, p. 168, by Mr. Nevill, 'it seems clear that Firuz Shah did so by virtue of his appointment of that prince to the viceroyalty of the eastern portion of his dominions'. In this way 'originated the separate principality, known as Iqlimu-sh-sharq (i.e. territory of the east) which not long afterwards became the independent kingdom of Jaunpur'. Gold tankahs from two mints are known—Iqlimu-sh-sharq (which probably denotes Jaunpur) and Patna. Both are dated A. H. 761. There is also a third remarkable type, represented by a single coin, which belonged to General Cunningham and is now in the

British Museum (No. 745B). The first word of the reverse has not been read with any certainty. Mr. Gibbs suggested امیر, Mr. C. J. Rodgers, حبیب , but was not satisfied with the reading. Neither of these two suggestions is convincing. The last letter is almost certainly a ر and this rules out حبیب. A trace of the first letter, however, points to a ح or خ and خبیر 'guardian' or 'warden' is now suggested. The date unfortunately is not on the extant part of the margin, but the name of Abu 'Abdulla shows that it was struck after A. H. 765 (see ante p. 218). The legend may signify that by this time Fath Khan's viceroyalty had been extended over the west as well as the east."

I beg to offer my reading and interpretation of this legend which defied both the above scholars. The fundamental mistake was committed in joining شاہ with حبیب and not with فیروز. The word حبیب (Habīb) ought to go in the top line and not the second line. Mr. Nevill correctly read the word حبیب (Habīb), but Mr. Wright doubtfully deciphered it as خبیر (Khabir ?) because he thought, the last letter of this word to be a ر (*re*) and not ب (*be*).

This legend is read by me as :

حبیب الشرق والغرب
فتحخاں فیروز شاہ
جل الله جلاله

which means a beloved or a friend of the East as well as of the West, Fath Khan (son of) Firuz Shah, etc.

C. R. SINGHAL

9

AKBAR'S FULUS AND HALF-TANKAHS

Akbar's copper money like his gold and silver coinage is very interesting and elaborate. Revenue and day-to-day business transactions and prices of common commodities were generally calculated in copper money.

In February, 1962, an important hoard of considerable size containing copper fulus and half-tankahs of Akbar and a few rawānis of Jahangir and paisās of Islām Shah Sur were discovered at Bhindran, a village in the Sangrur Tehsil of the Punjab. The coins are very rusty. The latest coin is a rawāni of Jahangir bearing the date ٧—١٠٢١, the seventh regnal year of Jahangir's reign. Lot of mints, some with epithets, are represented on Akbar's fulus, viz. Lahore, Delhi, Fatehpur, Narnaul, Dogao, Ilahabas and Urdu-Zafar Qarin. Akbar's half-tankahs and Jahangir's rawānis were issued from Bairat, Islām Shah's paisās are dateless and mintless. It is not improbable that some other mints come to light on cleaning the coins.

According to the *Āin-i-Akbarī* of Abul Fazl, the dām[1] weighed one tola, eight mashas and seven rattis. Thus the weight of the Akbarī dām or fulus comes to about 323.5 grains, the Akbarī tola being of 185.5 grains. In very rare cases the weight of an Akbarī fulus rises slightly i.e. only a few grains above the standard weight. The half-tankah is equivalent in weight to a fulus. None of the fulus in the Bhindran hoard seems heavier than 320 grains. Several fulus in good condition were carefully weighed.

The tankah along with its sixteen sub-divisions was issued towards the end of the forty-second Ilāhī year, as a few of the half-tankahs bear this date; while no mention of the tankah issue is made in the *Ain*, which was completed sometime in the forty-second Ilāhī year. Copper one-tanki, two-tanki and four-tanki pieces were issued later on. The fulus had the following sub-divisions, viz. nisfi (half), damrā (quarter) and damṛī (eighth) of a dām.

The tankahs and its smaller denominations bear only the Ilāhī dates, while the dām and its parts bear both the Hijra as well as the Ilāhī dates. Smaller denominations seem to have been issued to facilitate daily small transactions. The tankah and the fulus were also concurrent.

Mr. C. R. Singhal, in his article on the "Mughal Coins in the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi", appearing in the Golden Jubilee Number of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, has recorded some unusual and therefore puzzling weights of the copper fulus of Akbar and subsequent

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1. ”دام نقدیست مسیں۔ وزن پنج تانک کہ
یک تولچہ و ہشت ماشہ و ہفت سرخ باشد ....
یک سو فلاں جاہ و دیگر جانب سال و ماہ.........
و در محاسبات بکار آید“

Mughal emperors. It is rather difficult to account for them in view of the clear statement of weights in the *Āin*. Moreover, the Catalogues of Mughal coins in the Lahore, Lucknow, Calcutta and London museums do not record any copper fulus of Akbar or subsequent emperors of this dynasty as heavy in weight as those of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi. The latter are a challenge to the *Ain* and the metrology of Akbar's copper coinage. Even late Mr. C. J. Rodgers who had thoroughly studied the copper currency of Akbar has not recorded a single copper fulus of Akbar as heavy as those recorded by Mr. Singhal. The copper fulus of the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi, require, therefore, to be re-examined thoroughly.

UTTAM SINGH RAO

10

A NOTE ON THE SO-CALLED BI-REGAL BI-MINTAL COPPER MUGHAL COIN

Dr. P. L. Gupta has published a copper coin in this *Journal*[1] under the title 'A Unique Bi-regal and Bi-mintal Mughal Copper Coin.' The legends on this coin are as follows:

Obv.

زنام شا [ہ]
جہانگیر [شاہ]
اکبر
نور

Rev.

[با] دشا [ہ] غا [ز] ے
[الد] ین محمد شاہ جہاں
ب
[صا] حبقران ثانے [شہا]
[ا] حد

According to Dr. Gupta, the obverse legend on the coin is that of Jahangir, which was used on his gold and silver coins of Lahore mint from A.H. 1015 to 1037 (R.Y. 11 to 22). The reverse legend, he says, is that of Shahjahan, which is so common on his silver coins and was introduced after his coronation. This side has the mint name Allahabad.

These show that the coin bears the stamps from two different dies, one of Lahore and the other of Allahabad; the former of the reign of Jahangir and the latter that of Shahjahan. Dr. Gupta thinks that this is a freak issue of a camp-mint. Explaining this phenomenon, he writes, "It appears that at first the camp-mint was lodging at Lahore or in its vicinity during the last days of Jahangir and issuing coins on the pattern of Lahore mint. Later it started from Lahore to Allahabad. It so happened that the kingship changed and Shahjahan came to the throne. And then the coins in the name of new emperor began to be issued from the camp-mint. By some mistake or confusion, the mint-master used the die of Lahore, which was obviously of Jahangir, for one side and of Shahjahan for the other."[1] He has cited another coin as an analogy, which was in the collection of the late Sri Bahadur Singh Singhi. It had on the obverse the name of the emperor with his full imperial titles and the mint name Akbarabad and on its reverse was the Kalimā and the mint name Patna, the regnal year 3 and the month Ardībihist.[2]

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[1] XVI, p. 132.

But to me, the copper coin published by Dr. Gupta does not appear to be a mere mint-freak. It was in all probability a genuine issue of Shahjahan, issued purposefully, having behind it a political motive.

It is well known that during the later part of his reign, Jahangir had practically retired and queen Nurjahan was dominating over the administration. She was the *de facto* ruler of the Mughal empire; and her name had found place on the coins.

It is also well known that Shahjahan was, at first, in the good books of Nurjahan and had every hopes to succeed to the throne after his father. But when his younger brother Shahriyar was married to the daughter of Nurjahan, her affection naturally diverted towards the latter. To pave the way to the throne for her son-in-law Sahriyar, Nurjahan advised her husband to send Shahjahan away to the distant frontier. Shah-

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1. Ibid., pp. 132-33, 136.
2. *JNSI.*, I, pp. 50 ff.

[3. For details see *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri* (Sir S. Ahmad's edition) and English translation by Rogers and Beveridge, II, pp. 231-256; *Iqbal-nama-i-Jahangiri* (Bib. Ind. Series), pp. 196 ff: *Mausir-ul-Umra* (Bib. Ind. Ser.), Eng. Trans. by Beveridge I, pp. 149 ff; Gladwin, *Reign of Jahangir*, pp. 64 ff.

4. *NS.*, XLII, pp. 62-63.]

[*Note*—Foot-notes 3 and 4 above have not been indicated by author in the body of the text—*Editor*.]

jahan, reading through the clever move of his adversary, refused to comply the order of his father. Nurjahan fully exploited this incident to discredit her rival and deprive him of the sympathy and affection of his father. The result was that Shahjahan revolted. The historians attributed it as the revolt of Shahjahan against his father Jahangir. But if the event is seen in the background, just described, it would be clear that Shahjahan's revolt was really against Nurjahan, the *de facto* ruler of the Mughal empire and not against his father Jahangir.

Now, if the copper coin under reference is seen in the light of this event, it would be clear that Shahjahan had issued it on this occasion to assert his supremacy. He did not disturb the name of his father on the coin ; only removed the name of the queen Nurjahan and replaced it with his own name. Allahabad was one of the mints that issued coins bearing the name of Nurjahan till the last year of Jahangir's reign (1037 A H.-R.Y. 22). It is well known that this town had fallen in the hands of Shahjahan for some time. So, it is no wonder if he issued coins of this nature from Allahabad.

The coin under reference weighs only 142 grains ; so, Dr. Gupta does not think that it was meant to pass as a silver rupee. But it is quite likely that Shahjahan, under the pressing circumstances, might not have been able to retain the standard of the Mughal coins.

NISAR AHMAD

11

A COPPER COIN OF SAUGOR (SAGAR) ISSUED BY THE ENGLISH

[Plate III]

Dr. John Allan in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* Vol. IV, states on pages 352 and 353 :

> "Saugor (Sagar) is the principal town in the Saugor District which was conquered by the Maratha Peshwar in A. D. 1735, whose lieutenant Govind Rao, did much for the development of the city. The latter's descendents held it till it was ceded to the British in A. D. 1818. Prinsep's reference to this and Mandla mint is not very clear : 'The Sagar mint was set up in A. D. 1779 by the Peshwar's officer at Garrah Mandlah and coined about seventeen lakhs of Balasahi rupees per

> annum. Its operations continued under Mr. Maddock who, to counteract the forgery going on at Garrah, inserted the word 'Sagar' in small English characters on the die. The new Sagar mint erected in A. D. 1824 is now rapidly removing all the old coins from circulation. (Useful tables. p. 29. c.f. p. 28.)'
>
> 'Hunter also tells us that the mint continued under British rule. In A. D. 1820 a large building was erected (in Sagar) for a mint where 400 men were employed in coining; but after some ten or twelve years the business was transferred to Calcutta.' (I. G. 1887, XII. p. 109)."

Allan does not refer to any copper coins from this mint. On **Pl. III. 5** is illustrated a coin which may be either a double or single paisa, weighing 273.7 grains, of this mint, issued by the English under the authority of Mr. Maddock in the period c. A. D. 1818-1824. These limits are fixed from the details furnished by Prinsep and Hunter.

The inscriptions, which are in Arabic on the obverse and reverse, are not easy to read, but two English characters on the reverse read either 'AR' or 'RH' and could be part of 'Sagar' or 'Sagarh'.

If Mr. Maddock used the Peshwar's mint at Garrah Mandlah until the English mint at Sagar was built, in either A. D. 1820 or 1824, it may be correct to read the two letters on my coin as 'AH'; which could then refer to either 'Garrah' or 'Mandlah'.

There appears to be no doubt about the name of the mint, in English, on the rupees issued by Mr. Maddock.

This note is published with the hope that a coin with more English characters may exist and it would be of interest to establish the name of the mint on the copper coinage.

Prinsep stated the rupees had 'Sagar' on them and as they seem to be uncommon it would be of interest if one could also be illustrated if in the possession of any one of our readers, or in the collection of any Indian Museum.

C. H. BIDDULPH

12

AN UNUSUAL MASULIPATAM FALUS

[Plate III]

In an article entitled "Coins of the Nawabs of Arcot", in the *Journal*, Volume XXIV, Pt. I, an attempt has been made, when describing the copper coins of the Nawabs, to show that falus of Masulipatam mint were in fact coins of the Nawabs of Arcot and coins with dates subsequent to A.D. 1759 of the East India Company.

The inscriptions on the coins are almost identical, but certain differences were described which help in the identification of the Nawabs and Company's coins and will be repeated.

The Nawabs falus are usually almost circular and are of a single thickness of metal, cut from billets of copper. Falus of the Company are invariably produced from sheet copper which is first cut into strips and then folded and again cut to approximately the correct weight, and in consequence are either square, or rectangular, in shape with rough cut ends which show the number of times the copper sheet has been folded to produce the correct thickness of the flans.

The particular coin, **Pl. III. 7**, which it is proposed to describe is in the British Museum Collection and is published with the permission of the Keeper of Coins and Medals. Its thickness has been adjusted by folding the metal four times and it is roughly rectangular in shape with some clipping of the corners presumably to adjust its weight. The coin weighs 200.7 grains. The obverse inscription is similar to all falus of Masulipatam mint and one of the Nawabs coins is illustrated, **Pl. III. 6**, for comparison. The main difference is in the reverse, which instead of having the usual "Machlipatam Bandar Zarab (XX)", has a large 'M', evidently intended for Masulipatem, below which is the date A. H. 1218 (A. D. 1803) and some Arabic letters over the 'M' which may be intended to read 'San',

It is noteworthy that the coin has the date on both obverse and reverse, but no regnal year is visible. The coin must have been issued by the East India Company and it is not clear if the same reverse type was adopted for the coins of other years. Falus of A. H. 1222 (A. D. 1807) are of the usual type and are illustrated in my article entitled "Coins with Laminated Flans" in the *Journal*, Vol. XXIII, 1961, Pl. I, Nos. 1 and 2.

An examination of coins of Masulipatam mint in other collections may supply particulars of certain other years in which the reverse design is similar to this coin, as it would seem unreasonable to suggest it was only used in the year A. H. 1218.

It is possible falus from about the year A. D. 1759 followed the pattern of the earlier coins, but for some reason a change was introduced about the year A. D. 1803, but did not continue for long as coins of A. D. 1807 are of the usual pattern. There is just one other possibility, that these curious falus may have been coined at some other mint of the Company for use at Masulipatam and on the East Coast.

C. H. BIDDULPH

13

COUNTERMARKED COIN OF THE IMAM OF MUSCAT AND OMAN

[Plate III]

An interesting quarter anna coin dated A.H. 1315 (A.D. 1897/8) of the Imam Sultan Turkee with a countermark on the obverse, within an oval incuse, is illustrated, **Pl. III. 9,** together with a similar coin, **Pl. III. 8,** without one. Two weight standards appear to exist for these coins, although the date does not vary.

The coin, **Pl. III. 8,** without a countermark, weighs 86.6 grains, while the countermarked coin is only 80.0 grains. A few more coins were weighed—the thinner ones vary between 75.3 and 80.0 grains and the thicker ones between 84.5 and 86.6 grains.

The countermark, which is in Arabic, reads 'Resht' and the coin appears to have been countermarked for use at Resht, a port on the Caspian Sea in the North-West of Persia.

It has not been possible to find any information which would account for the use of the coins of Muscat and Oman in Persia at this date. Resht was one of the towns in Persia with a mint which should have been able to supply any coins needed in the area.

It is possible one of our readers may be in possession of information which would account for the use of countermarked coins of a small principality in a country as large as Persia, which should have had facilities to produce coins from its own mints in an emergency.

C. H. BIDDULPH

14

INDORE - SHIVAJI RAO. A.D. 1886-1903. AN UNUSUAL HALF ANNA COIN

[Plate III]

On **Pl. III. 10,** a coin of the Indore ruler Sivaji Rao (A.D. 1886-1903) is illustrated which has certain unusual features.

It was issued in the first year of the reign of the ruler and is dated S. 1943 (A.D. 1886) and has not been catalogued by Dr. John Allan in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* Vol. IV. The denomination is Half an Anna and the weight 191.1 grains.

The obverse inscription reads :

"SRIMANT MAHARAJ HOLKAR SARCAR. INDORE."

The name of the state is under the seated bull and is inverted in relation to the rest of the inscription. Inside the inscription, and encircling the bull, is a pearl circle. The bull is not placed centrally in the circle.

The reverse of the coin has the inscription and date reversed and reads :

"INDORE. HALF ANNA. 1943."

The British Museum has a similar coin and it is possible a few were issued early in the first year of the ruler, but rejected immediately the errors were noticed.

C. H. BIDDULPH

NOTES & NEWS

1

Communications

I

We often receive letters from persons in India and abroad seeking information on matters pertaining to coin-collecting, exchange of coins and the like. Such persons also express desire to get in touch with those of our Members who are interested in the same series of coins. Although we had requested all our Members in the past to let us know their special interests, the information was received only from a few. We have, therefore, decided to publish such bonafide enquiries as *'Communications'* in the pages of the *Journal* to enable them to reach all our Members who may be interested. In this issue we are publishing a letter from Mr. A. Harlech Jones of S. Africa. —*Editor.*

Dear Sir,

I am a member of the Numismatic Society, and specialize in British and Commonwealth coins. I was a merchant navy officer on the Indian coast, and managed to get a good collection. I am having difficulty in obtaining certain coins, and would take the liberty of enquiring, as to whether they are still obtainable, and, if so, if you could kindly put me in contact with a person or organization from whom they are obtainable.

INDIA

Victoria Queen 1862-1877—½ rupee ½ anna ½ pice 1/12 anna
Victoria Empress—½ anna
George V—1 rupee 1911

George VI—	1 rupee 1937	1 anna 1938	½ anna 1938	½ pice 1938	1/12 anna 1938
			¼ anna 1942	½ pice 1942	1/12 anna 1939

Victoria Queen—¼ rupee 1840

CEYLON

Edward VII—¼ cent 1903, 1910
George V—½ cent 1911, 1929
George VI—50 cents 1942 AR
10 cents 1941 AR
½ cent 1937-40

King George the Sixth—10, 5, 2, 1 cents

Thanking you for your kindness.

Yours sincerely,
A. HARLECH JONES.

II

We are publishing below a Press Note about the "XXVI International Congress of Orientalists" at the request of the Organising Committee of the Congress.—*Editor.*

"At a recent meeting of the Organising Committee, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, it was finally decided to hold the XXVI session of the International Congress of Orientalists at New Delhi from 4th to 10th January 1964. Prof. Humayun Kabir is the Chairman of the Organising Committee and Shri A. K. Ghosh and Prof. R. N. Dandekar are its Secretaries. The Congress is divided into ten principal Sections—Egyptology, Semitic Studies, Hittite and Caucasian Studies, Altaic Studies including Turcology, Iranian Studies, Indology, South-East Asian Studies, East Asian Studies, Islamic Studies and African Studies. Thousands of scholars from India and abroad have been invited to participate in the Congress. Scholars wishing to register themselves as members may address the Joint Secretary, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi."

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Addenda and Corrigenda

JNSI., Vol. XXIV

I

'COINS OF THE NAWABS OF ARCOT—C. H. BIDDULPH, pp. 50-114'

Page *64*. Insert above Muhammad Shah (A. H. 1131-1161)
'*Shah Alam Bahadur* (*A. H. 1119-1161*)'
A. R, Rupee. A. H. 1123. R. Y. 4.
Originally in R. B. Whitehead's collection. Coin in the British Museum Collection. No, 5566.

74. In the first line of the last but one para, read 'fakir' for 'Kakir'.

102-3. *Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura & Tinnevelly Mints.* Coins Nos. 29 and 30. Reverse reading parts of *Maha-Nawab* or *Maha-Nawabu.*

104. *Trichinopoly Mint.* Coins Nos. 45 and 46.
In the remarks column, read 'obverse' for 'obverss'

106. *Nathanagar (Trichinopoly) Mint.* Coins Nos. 1 & 2. Inscription on the obverse, read '*Emir-ul-Hind*' for '*Emin-ul-Hind*'.

—*C. H. BIDDULPH*

II

Page 29. First para, last line, read 'be' for 'bo'.

" In the Table at the end, read 'दामजदश्री' for 'दामजदम्भि', and 'भर्तृदामन्' for 'भर्तृदानम्'.

30. In the Table, read 'रुद्रसिंह' for 'रुद्रसिह', and स्वामि सिंहसेन' for 'स्वामिसिंह सेन'.

164. First para, line 14, read 'is' for 'are'.

166. Sanskṛit quotations in—

First para, read 'श्री प्रथितकुलरूपदृप्तः' for 'श्री प्रथित कुल रूपदृप्त', and 'निरुपमगुणमहार्णवः' for 'निरूपम गुणमहाराविः'.

Second para, read 'समुदितबलकोशान्-पुष्यमित्रांश्च जित्वा' for 'समुदितबलकोशान् पुष्यमित्रांश्च जित्वा', 'विप्लुतां वंशलक्ष्मीम्' for 'विलुप्तां वंशलक्ष्मीम्', and 'त्रियामा' for 'त्रियामाः'.

167. Sanskṛit quotations in—

First para, read 'वरयाञ्चकार' for 'वरयांचकार'.

Second para, read 'परमेश्वरः' for 'परमेश्वर', 'श्री प्रथितकुल-रूपदृप्तः' for 'श्रीप्रथितकुल रूपदृप्तः', and 'निरुपमगुणमहार्णवः' for 'निरूपम गुणमहाराविः'.

3

Obituary

SHRI BRIJ MOHAN VYAS

To all, who were connected with his achievment in the creation of the Municipal Museum (now Allahabad Museum), Allahabad, and other public activities, the passing away of

Shri Brij Mohan Vyas came as a personal loss. He started the Allahabad Museum as an amateur in this field, more or less on the lines of an *ajāyabghar*, but soon after his claims in this field were much higher, and the Allahabad Museum fully deserves its present esteemed position on the cultural map of India through his incessant endeavours. The collection suddenly grew to immense proportions, which required an unfathomable will-power and drive for one single individual, sometimes under baffling vicissitudes, to materialise his dreams. A visitor to the Allahabad Museum, which has become a source of inspiration to the scholars on Indian art and archaeology, will certainly be impressed by its treasures.

As he was popularly known, Vyas Ji also started taking interest in Indian-Muslim coins in which he very soon specialised, building a very important collection. One, who may have the opportunity of looking at the collection, would not fail to realise the immense pains he took in selecting out a number of examples, each representing the best specimen and evolving long series, in chronological order, of coins issued by many of the important mints and in different reigns. A few years back, Shri C. R. Singhal discovered a number of new varieties in the collection, which now forms an important part of the numismatic section of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.

Vyas Ji was every inch a collector. Besides his activities in the field of art, archaeology and numismatics, he built up a very large collection of postage stamps, principally Indian. His entire house was full of stamps, coins and other antiquities as well as variety of curios, rarities and freaks. Wherever he lived, he had a knack of finding a suitable place for such objects in the interior decoration.

Vyas Ji's another contribution in the museum-world was the creation of the Museums' Association of India, which has now developed into a great institution and forum for our museum-men.

Vyas Ji possessed high personal qualities; he was a real friend in need. A man of strong character and goodwill, he was a true Brāhmaṇa. The present shape of the Allahabad Municipal Board owes much to his administrative qualities and experience. He was also connected with several educational and cultural institutions.

Vyas Ji's agile personality and his wit and humour will be long remembered by his associates and his self-less devotion for the cause of Indian art, archaeology and numismatics will be an inspiration for generations to come.

We deeply mourn this loss.

ANAND KRISHNA

GOLD CONTROL RULES

Vs

Collectors of Ancient Gold Coins

[When the Gold Control Rules under the Defence of India Rules, 1962, were promulgated by the Government of India, several members of the Numismatic Society of India wrote to seek clarifications regarding the necessity of declaration of ancient gold coins in their possession It was also realised that the Rules would come in way of acquisition and disposal of ancient gold coins, and consequently hamper the study of ancient Indian Numismatics. The President and the General Secretary of the Numismatic Society of India immediately took up the matter with the Ministry of Finance and have keenly pursued it. We are happy to announce that they have succeeded in their efforts to seek the necessary clarifications, to get suitable amendments made in the Gold Control Rules and protect the rights of institutions as well as individual collectors of ancient gold coins. On the advice of the President of the Society, we are publishing below for information of the members two circulars of the Society giving gist of earlier correspondence as well further correspondence in the matter.--Editor]

Circular No. 1

16th February, 1963.

Dear Member,

I wrote to the Ministry of Finance for clarification regarding the declaration of gold coins under the new Gold Rules. I quote below from the reply I have received from the Ministry for your information and compliance.

"According to the Gold Control Rules, gold in any shape or form other than unfinished ornaments have to be declared by the holder unless the quantity of such gold is within the exemption limits which incidentally are 50 grammes for an adult individual or an institution and 20 grammes for a minor. There is no provision in the Gold Control Rules to exempt individuals and institutions collecting gold coins from the obligation to declare.

"I should, however, explain that declaration of non-ornament gold under the Gold Control Rules does not in any sense mean that the declared gold will be taken away or will have to be melted. We entirely agree with you that it would be a most retrograde thing to treat ancient gold coins in a manner which may lead to their being melted down. But the declarer has to give only a reasonably descriptive statement of the coins etc. in his ownership or possession and for this purpose it should not be necessary to do anything to the coins which may cause them any harm. Individuals and institutions who have to make declarations may fiind it to their advantage to get into touch with the nearest office of the Central Excise Department and seek its advice if there is any difficulty over the weight, description etc. of a coin.

"I hope the above will be found a workable procedure for the members of your society."

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Narain
Secretary.

Circular No. 2

Dear Member,

When the Government of India promulgated its Gold Control Rules under the Defence of India Rules, 1962, there was an immediate apprehension in the minds of all persons interested in acquisition and sale of gold coins. Several members made enquiries to us and many directed their representations individually to the Government. We, therefore, both in our individual capacity and on Society's behalf, took up the matter with the Ministry of Finance, Government of India. The Under Secretary to the Government of India has now informed us that suitable exceptions have since been provided under the Gold Rules so as not to affect the disposal of gold coins of archæological and historical interest. We are giving below the copies of the Government Press Note on the subject as well as of the relevant Gazette notification. On going through them, however, we have noticed that they do not appear to fulfil the requirements of a private collecter, since he would be acting only on behalf of the Society and may not have the necessary independence to acquire coins for himself. The President of the Society and I have therefore again written to the Government for further amendation of the Rules.

Yours faithfully,
A. K. Narain
General Secretary

Copy of the Government Press Note, dated June 19, 1963.

Ancient Gold Coins

PROCEDURE FOR DISPOSAL LAID DOWN

The Government of India have had under consideration the question of facilitating the preservation, sale or transfer of ancient gold coins and other articles made of gold which may be of archæological or historical interest. Coins and articles other than ornaments are treated as non-ornament gold for the purposes of gold control under the Defence of India Rules, 1962; the possession of such gold, without a declaration under these rules, or the sale of such gold except to licensed dealers or to persons specially permitted to purchase such gold is illegal.

The Central Government, after considering various representations which have been received on this subject, have decided that coins or articles of gold other than ornaments, which have been in existence for not less than 100 years, may be sold, either to licensed dealers or to any organisation maintained by the Central or State Government or to any person authorised to act for and on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India or to any University or any museum set up under law or maintained by the Central Government or by a State Government or any institution notified by the Gold Board.

Normally, an ancient gold coin or other article will have a value in excess of its metal content, and a price, based on the historical or æsthetic value of the coin or article, might be offered by an authorised purchaser, if he is interested in acquiring the coin or article.

Persons interested in the sale or disposal of ancient coins or other articles of archæological or historical interest will have to declare such coins or articles, irrespective of the quantity or value, as the grant of permission for sale or disposal is conditional on such declaration. Any person owning or finding any coins or articles, which may be of archæological or historical interest and which have been in existence for not less than 100 years, may, in the event of any doubt regarding the method or procedure for the sale or disposal of such coins or articles, contact the Gold Board, Bombay.

Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic Affairs) New Delhi, Jyaistha 29, 1885 (June 1963).

Extract from The Gazette of India : June 15, 1963, pp. 1846-47.

Department of Economic Affairs (Gold Board)

S. O. 1647.—In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (d) of sub-rule (2) of rule 126H and clause (b) of sub-rule (3) of rule 126 I of the Defence of India Rules, 1962, the Gold Board hereby permits—

(a) any employee of the Central Government or a State Government acting in his capacity as such,

(b) any person empowered or authorised to act on behalf of—

  (i) the Numismatic Society of India,

  (ii) any university in India established under any law for the time being in force,

  (iii) any museum included in the Table below, and

  (iv) any other museum established in India under any law for the time being in force or maintained by the Central Government, or a State Government,

to acquire any gold coin or article of gold which is of historical, archæological, cultural or artistic interest and which has been in existence for not less than one hundred years, provided such coin or article has been included in any declaration made under rule 1261 of the Defence of India Rules, 1962 by the person from whom such coin or article is sought to be acquired.

TABLE

Archæological and Cultural Museums

Andhra Pradesh—Archæological Site Museum, Alampur; Archæological Museum, Amaravati; Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad; Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad; Archæological Museum, Kondapur; College Museum, Madanapalle; Nagarjunakonda Museum, Nagarjunakonda; Museum of the Andhra

Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry ; Sri Venkateswara Museum, Tirupati ; Victoria Jubilee Museum, Vijayawada.

Assam--Assam State Museum, Gauhati.

Bihar--Archæological Museum, Bodh Gaya ; Chandradhari Museum, Darbhanga ; Gaya Museum, Gaya ; Nalanda Museum, Nalanda ; Patna Museum, Patna ; Vaisali Museum, Vaisali.

Gujarat--Municipal Museum, Ahmedabad ; Museum of Seth Bholabhai Jeshingbhai Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad ; Shri Girdharbhai Children's Museum, Amreli ; Museum and Picture Gallery, Sayaji Bagh, Baroda ; Museum of the department of Archæology, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda ; Barton Museum of Antiquities, Bhavnagar ; Kutch Museum, Bhuj ; Lady Wilson Museum, Dharampur ; Museum of Antiquities, Jamnagar ; Junagadh Museum, Junagadh ; Prabhas Patan Museum, Prabhas Patan ; Waston Museum, Rajkot ; Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad ; Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Museum, Surat ; Museum of Art and Archæology, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

Jammu and Kashmir--Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu ; SP.S. Government Museum, Srinagar.

Kerala--Museum of Antiquities, Padmanabhapuram ; Archæological Museum and Picture Gallery, Trichur ; State Museum, Trichur ; Government Museum, Trivandrum ; Government Art Gallery (Sri Chitralayam), Trivandrum.

Madhya Pradesh--Vidisha Museum, Vidisha ; Central Museum, Bhopal ; District Archæological Museum, Dhar ; Archæological Museum, Gwalior Fort, Gwalior ; State Museum, Jamna Bagh, Gwalior ; Central Museum, Indore ; Archæological Museum, Khajuraho ; State Museum, Dhubela Palace, Nowgong ; Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur ; Archæological Museum, University of Sagar, Sagar ; Museum of Archæology, Sanchi ; Digambar Jain Museum, Sonagiri.

Madras--Fort St. George Museum, Madras ; Government Museum and National Art Gallery, Madras ; Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Madurai ; Sri Meenakshi Sundareswarar Temple Museum, Madurai ; Museum of Antiquities, Padmanaspuram ; Government Museum, Pudukkottai ; Sriranganathswami Devasthanam Museum, Srirangam ; Tanjore Art Gallery, Palace Building, Tanjore.

Maharashtra--Sri Bhavani Museum, Aundh ; Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay ; Victoria and Albert Museum, Victoria Gardens, Bombay ; I.V.K. Rajwade Sansodhan Mandal Museum, Dhulia ; Kolhapur Museum, Kolhapur; Central Museum, Nagpur ; Bharatiya Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Museum, Poona ; Museum of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona ; Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Sevagram, Wardha.

Mysore--Government Museum, Bangalore ; Archæological Museum, Bijapur ; Local Antiquities Museum, Chitradurga ; Kannada Research Institute

Museum, Dharwar ; Archæological Museum, Hampi ; Government Museum, Mangalore ; Mahatma Gandhi Museum, Mangalore.

Orissa—Baripada Museum, Baripada ; Belkhandi Museum, Belkhandi ; Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswara ; Khiching Museum, Khiching (Mayurbhanj).

Punjab—Central Sikh Museum, Amritsar ; Provincial Museum, Patiala ; Punjab Government Museum, Simla.

Rajasthan—Rajputana Museum, Ajmer ; Government Museum, Alwar ; Archæological Museum, Amber ; Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner ; State Museum, Bharatpur ; National Heritage Preservation Society Museum, Bundi ; Government Central Museum, Jaipur ; Archæological Museum, Jhalawar ; Sardar Museum, Jodhpur ; Museum and Saraswati Bhandar, Kotah ; Choturam Museum, Sangaria ; Sikar Museum, Sikar ; Victoria Hill Museum, Udaipur.

Uttar Pradesh—Allahabad Museum, Allahabad ; Mahatma Gandhi Hindi Sangrahalaya, Kalpi ; Gurukula Museum, Gurukula Kangri, Hardwar ; State Museum, Lucknow ; Archæological Museum (Curzon Museum of Archæology), Mathura ; Sarnath Museum, Sarnath ; Bharata Kala Bhavan Museum of Art and Archæology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

West Bengal—Indian Museum, Calcutta ; Victoria Memorial Hall Museum, Calcutta ; Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta ; Municipal Museum, Calcutta ; Museum of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta ; Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta ; Gurusaday Museum, Calcutta ; Rishi Bankim Library and Museum, Kanthalpara ; B. R. Sen Museum, Malda ; Rabindra-Sadana (Tagore Museum), Shantiniketan ; Serampore College Museum, Serampore ; Hamilton High School Museum, Tamluk.

Delhi—Archæological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi ; Indian War Memorial Museum, Delhi ; Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi ; National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi ; National Museum of India, New Delhi.

Himachal Pradesh—Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

1st June 1963.

[No. F. GB-IV/24-1/63]
N. A. SARMA,
Member Secy

[In spite of the above amendments, however, it was felt, the rights of individual coin-collectors were still not adequately protected. The President wrote to the Finance Secretary again. The General Secretary pursued the matter at New Delhi by personal contacts and also followed it up by a letter to the Secretary, Ministry of Finance. The reply to President's letter has been received from the Government, and the Society feels the arrangements now are satisfactory. The correspondence is reproduced below.]

Poona-1.
27th June, 1963.

From,

Shri P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S.,
President, Numismatic Society of India,
Commissioner's Office,
Poona-1.

To,

The Under Secrerary to the Government of India,
Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs
New Delhi.

Subject : Ancient gold coins--
Procedure for disposal of.

Sir,

I have to thank you for your letter No. P. 1/21/63-GC dated the 24th June 1963 enclosing a copy of the Press Note and the notification issued in regard to the permitting of certain categories of persons to acquire gold coins or articles of gold etc. In my letter dated the 21st February 1963, I had suggested that it was necessary to allow genuine coin-collectors and scholars to acquire ancient gold coins. The notification sent by you gives such permission "to any person empowered or authorised to act on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India". This clause strictly interpreted, would allow only such persons who are empowered or authorised to act on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India to acquire ancient gold coins. This would mean that such persons must be acting on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India and therefore they would be functioning as agents of the Numismatic Society of India and would not be in a position to acquire ancient gold coins for themselves, but as agents of the Numismatic Society of India. If this is so, I am afraid it would act as a serious handicap to Indian numismatics inasmuch as collectors and scholars will not be in a position to acquire such coins for themselves. I may point out that private collectors and scholars have rendered as much if not more service to Indian numismatics as persons associated with museums. To give only two recent examples, the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi have made outstanding contributions in the capacity as private scholars and collectors and were not associated with any museum. Older examples of the same nature are Nelson Wright, C. J. Rogers and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. Unless, therefore, such persons are enabled to acquire coins, the study of Indian numismatics is bound to suffer. In my letter dated 21st February 1963, therefore, I had suggested that private scholars and collectors should be enabled to aquire such coins provided they are authorised to do so by the Numismatic Society of India. Hence the phrase "act on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India" needs to be changed. I may suggest that the clause may be re-worded as "any person empowered or authorised to act on behalf of or specially authorised by the Numismatic Society of India". Under the amendment I suggest, the Numismatic Society would be authorising genuine collectors and scholars to acquire such coins in their individual capacity and not as agents of the Society. The Society would send a list of names of such persons from time to time to the Gold Control Board so that it would be possible at any time for the Board to know who such persons are. Further, such persons will naturally make declarations of the coins acquired to the proper Excise authorities.

I would, therefore, request you to consider the matter and take necessary action in the interest of Indian numismatics.

Yours faithfully,
P.J. Chinmulgund
President, Numismatic Society of
India.

N. F. 1/21/63-GC.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF FINANCE
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

New Delhi, the 8th July, 1963.

From,

Shri B. J. Heerjee,
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

To,

Shri P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S.,
President, Numismatic Society of India,
Commissioner's Office,
Poona-1.

Subject :—Ancient gold coins—
Procedure for disposal of.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter dated the 27th June, 1963 on the above subject and to state that the question of enabling individual numismatists to purchase coins (in relaxation of the provisions of the gold control rules) was considered in great detail by the Central Government and the Gold Board before the notification was issued. It was decided that it would not be practicable or desirable to extend the facilities available in terms of the notification to individual collectors of coins.

2. It is considered that the amendment of the notification on the lines indicated in your letter will not be appropriate, as neither the Central Government nor the Gold Board can legitimately delegate to the Numismatic Society of India the power to authorise any person to acquire gold coins (which under the law are treated as non-ornament gold) in his individual capacity. As you will perhaps appreciate, the power to grant a permit for the purchase of non-ornament gold under the rules is a power vested in the Board and concurrently

also in the Central Government. It is not a power which can be delegated permanently to another institution.

3. As regards the merits of the proposal to empower individual collectors to purchase ancient coins, trading in non-ornament gold, even when such gold is in the form of coins, is intended to be restricted in order to prevent any abuse, and this consideration has to be balanced against the desirability, in the interest of historical research, of enabling individual scholars to obtain new coins (existing collections incidentally can be preserved by such collectors if they have been declared). In the conditions which exist today, it is considered that on the whole there will be no great loss to historical research if coins which may be newly discovered hereafter are available only to institutions as distinguished from individuals.

4. In the circumstances explained, it is regretted that it will not be possible to amend the notification on the lines suggested.

Yours faithfully,
B. J. Heerje
Under Secretary to the Government of India

P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S.,
President, Numismatic Society of India
Commissioner's Office.
Poona-1.

Poona-1.
23rd July, 1963

Subject :--Ancient gold coins--
Procedure for disposal of.

My dear Jha,

I herewith enclose a copy of the letter I had written to Shri Heerjee, Under Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Finance and the reply received from him dated 8th July 1963 in regard to enabling individual numismatists to purchase gold coins by making suitable amendments to the Gold Control Rules.

2. I entirely agree that the powers of the Central Government or of the Gold Board cannot be delegated to the Numismatic Society of India. I would however suggest in the interest of the Indian numismatics that the Gold Board itself may permit individual numismatists to acquire or purchase gold coins. A practice, however, could be established whereunder the Gold Board will only permit such numismatists to acquire or purchase gold coins as will be recommended by the Numismatic Society of India. In regard to para 3 of the letter of Shri Heerjee, he has made two points,

(i) that the acquisition of ancient gold coins by individuals is intended to be restricted in order to prevent any abuse, and

(ii) secondly that there will be no great loss to historical research if coins are made available only to institutions as distinguished from individuals. As regards the first point, I had already made it clear and might make clear again that the chances of abuse are extremely remote. For one thing, a bonafide numismatist recommended by the Numismatic Society of India is not likely to indulge in any irregularity. Secondly, as ancient gold coins fetch a price much higher than the metal content, there is no inducement to acquiring or hoarding them with a view to making a substantial gain at a later date. If they are sold to a licenced jeweller, he will only offer a price in consideration of the metal content of the coin. If, on the other hand, they are sold to numismatists, only a fair price consistent with the historical value will be paid by the purchaser. Chances of misabuse of the concession, therefore, practically do not exist.

3. As regards the loss likely to be caused to historical research if numismatists are not permitted to acquire coins, it has been proved time and again in the history of Indian Numismatics that it is the individual numismatist who has contributed substantially to historical research. It is a well-known fact that coin-collections have been lying in museums for decades together without study and without, in many cases, even a list being prepared. I am afraid, therefore, that if the acquisition of coins is only limited to museums and institutions, coins will no doubt be preserved, but hardly studied.

4. I would, therefore, urge once again that the Gold Board may be authorised to permit individual numismatists to acquire or purchase coins and a convention may be set up that the Board will only permit such numismatists as are recommended by the Numismatic Society of India.

Yours sincerely,
P. J. Chinmulgund

Shri L. K. Jha, I. C. S.,
Secretary, Ministry of Finance,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Varanasi,
8th August, 1963.

Ref. No. Gen. Secy. 29.

Dear Shri Jha,

Emboldened by your earlier act of cooperation with and appreciation of the activities of the Numismatic Society of India, I am writing this in connection with the procedure for the disposal of ancient gold coins. While I am grateful to the Ministry of Finance, Government of India, for having taken some steps to provide suitable exceptions in the gold control rules, I [illegible] to point out that they do not fully satisfy the needs of the individual collectors of ancient gold coins.

The amendment contained in the government notification in the Gazette of India of June, 15, 1963, pages 1846-47, gives permission "to any person empowered or authorised to act on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India" to acquire ancient gold coins. If strictly interepreted, this clause might be taken to mean that such persons would be acting only on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India and therefore only as agents of it, and they would not be free to acquire ancient gold coins for themselves. I am afraid this would seriously hamper the study of Indian Numismatics It is a well known fact that the individual coin-collectors have done comparatively much more for the cause of the Indian Numismatics than the institutions like the museums. I, therefore, request you that the phrase "to any person empowered or authorised to act on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India" may be amended as "to any person empowered or authorised to act on behalf of or specially recommended by the Numismatic Society of India". I hasten to point out that I am well aware that the authority to permit the purchase of non-ornament gold is a power that, under the rules, vests in the Gold Board and concurrently also in the Central Government. The Numismatic Society of India will only be recommending the names of genuine collectors and scholars to acquire ancient gold coins in their individual capacity and would be sending lists of them from time to time to the Gold Board to enable the latter at any time to know who such persons are. Of course, such persons will make declarations of their purchase to the proper Excise authorities.

I also wish to inform you that I do not contemplate any possible misuse of such permission. Any coin-collector recommended by the Numismatic Society of India is not likely to indulge in any irregularity. Moreover, since the ancient gold coins fetch a price much higher than their metal content, there is no inducement to acquire or hoarding them with a view to make a substantial gain at a later date. A licenced jeweller at any time will only offer a price in consideration of the metal content of the coin, buts old to a numismatist, such coin will fetch a fair price consistent to its historical value.

I will, therefore once again request that the Gold Board may be authorised to permit individual numismatists to acquire or purchase ancient gold coins on the recommendation of the Numismatic Society of India and the amendment suggested by me carried out in the existing rules.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Narain

Shri L. K. Jha,
Secretary, Ministry of Finance,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

No. F. 1/21/63/GC.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF FINANCE
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

New Delhi, the 5 Aug. 1963

From,
Shri B. J. Heerjee,
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

To,
Shri P. J. Chinmulgund, I. C. S.,
President, Numismatic Society of India,
Commissioner's Office,
Poona-1.

Subject :—Ancient gold coins—desirability to allow individual numismatists to acquire.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 23rd July, 1963 addressed to the Secretary of this Department on the above subject, I am directed to state that the points raised in your letter have been further examined. Any general permission or authorisation granted by the Gold Board should, as far as possible, try to avoid any discrimination without a reasonable classification or justification. The existing notification granting general permission (copy enclosed for ready reference) is based on a rational classification, namely, museums and learned bodies or institutions interested in historical or numismatic research and while this classification can be defended as being appropriate in the circumstances, it is doubtful whether it will be in order, if we were to mention individual names also in the notification, trying to distinguish one scholar or numismatist from another. The only manner in which standing general permission in the case of individuals can appropriately be granted will be by extending the concession to all historians and numismatists, but any widening of the scope of the concession on these lines may be undesirable partly because the amendment itself will be vague and partly because it will enable a very large number of persons over whom no control can be exercised to deal in non-ornament gold.

2. In the circumstances explained, the question of granting a standing general permission to any individual or individuals to purchase newly-discovered coins cannot be dealt with in the notification itself, but will have to be decided individually on the merits of each case and on the basis of applications by the individuals concerned. The question of granting permits on the basis of these applications will be considered by the Gold Board if and when any applications are received and if the grant of permit appears to be

necessary or justified. In any case there is no reason to suppose that a reasonable view cannot be taken.

It is hoped that this will now be satisfactory from your point of view.

Yours faithfully,
B. J. Heerjee
Under Secretary to the Govt. of India.

No. F. 1/21/63-GC.
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF FINANCE
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

New Delhi, the 9 Aug. 1963.

From,

Shri R. K. Seshadri,
Deputy Secretary to the
Government of India.

To,

Shri P. J. Chinmulgund,
President, Numismatic Society of India,
Commissioner's Office,
Poona—1.

Subject :—Disposal of newly-discovered gold coins.

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 23rd July, 1963 addressed to Shri Jha regarding the grant of standing general permission to individual numismatists to acquire gold coins which may be newly discovered hereafter, I am enclosing for your information a copy of a letter dated the 5th August, 1963, which has been separately addressed to you as the President of the Numismatic Society of India.

2. As has been indicated in the letter, it may not be possible to authorise all historians or numismatists to purcase newly-discovered coins of ardhaeological or historical interest. As almost any individual can claim to be a historian, scholar or numismatist, any modification of the existing notification, so as to enable any person, describing himself as such, to purchase gold coins, which technically are treated as non-ornament gold, may not be desirable, especially as it may be possible, in certain circumstances or contingencies, for individuals, acquiring or claiming to have acquired gold through these means, to evade the gold control rules.

3. As the latter dated the 5th August, 1963 referred to above also points out, however, in the case of certain outstanding historians, scholars or numismatists, about whose qualifications, eminence or bonafides there cannot be any doubt, permits can be granted on the basis of the merits of these cases.

Applications for the grant of such permits are to be made to the Member-Secretary of the Gold Board, 22, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Bombay-1.

4. There is no prescribed form or fee for such applications, but it is usual for the Board when granting permits, to impose certain conditions. In case applications for the grant of individual permits are made to the Gold Board, it is possible that some reasonable conditions, such as that—

(a) the old or antique coins which are purchased should be declared whether or not they are within the exemption limits,

(b) they should not be melted, and

(c) they should not be sold to persons other than those interested in retaining them in their original forms,

may be imposed by the Board, before the permit is granted.

5. It is hoped that the grant of *ad hoc* permits in individual cases on the lines indicated above will be satisfactory from the point of view of the Numismatic Society of India and on this assumption a copy of this correspondence is being forwarded to the Gold Board for the Board's information and for such action as may be necessary. If any further clarification or information is needed, it may be helpful if the matter is pursued further with the Gold Board at the address mentioned in paragraph 3 above.

Yours faithfully,
R. K. Seshadri
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

P.J. Chinmulgund, I- C. S.,
Commissioner, Poona Division.

Poona–1
22nd August, 1963

Dear Shri Sheshadri,

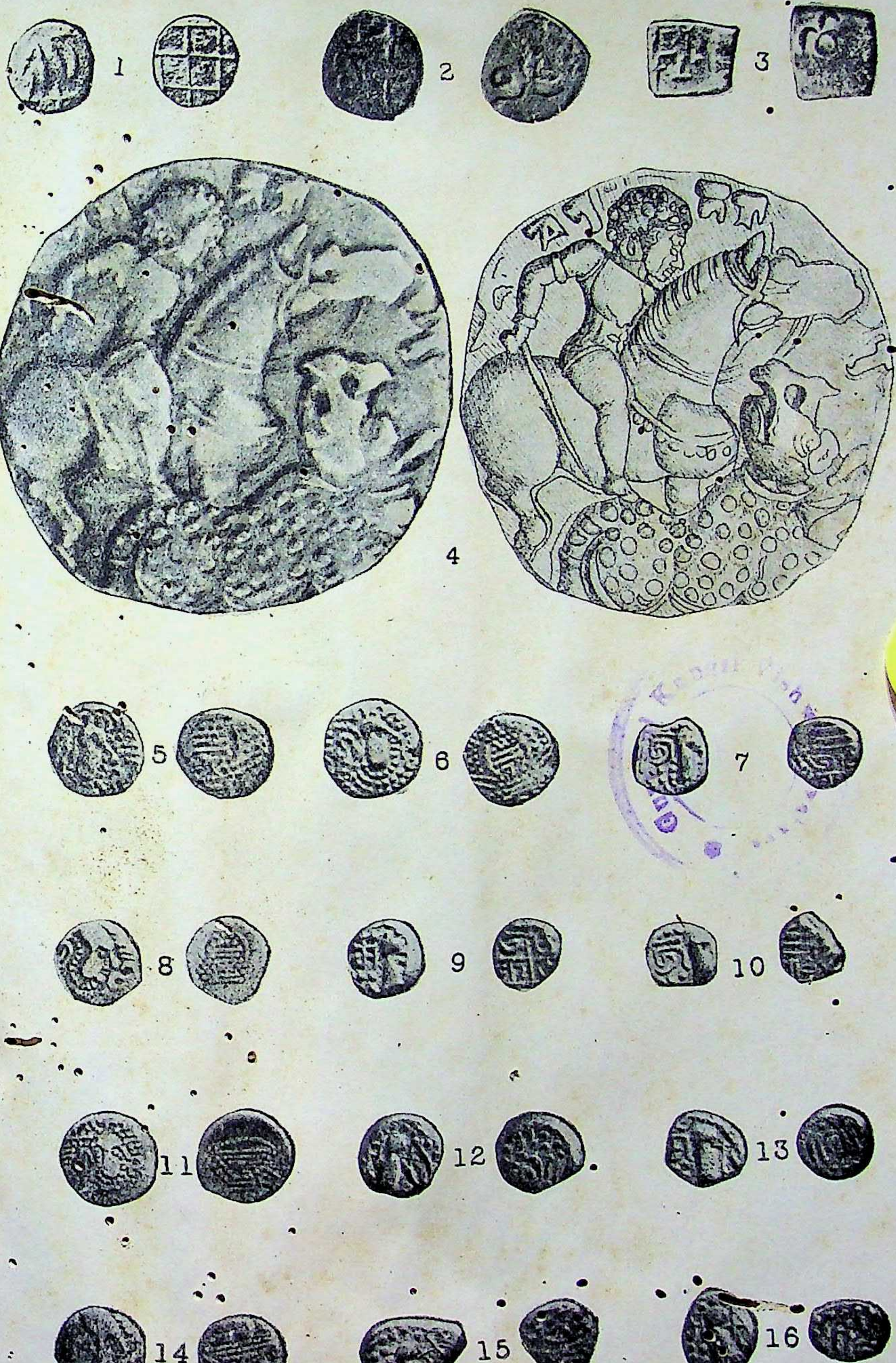
I received your letter of the 9th August enclosing a copy of a letter dated the 5th August 1963 from Shri B. H. Heerjee, Under Secretary to the Government of India. I thank you for your letter.

I note that you are sending the correspondence in this matter to the Gold Board for the Board's information and further action as may be necessary. I also note that the Gold Board is empowered to grant permits to numismatists and scholars to acquire gold coins and that applications for this purpose should be made to that Body. The usual conditions that you have mentioned that the Board might impose in giving such permits are entirely acceptable to us. This solution in the present circumstances, I feel, will remove the difficulties of scholars and numismatists.

On behalf of the Numismatic Society of India, I have to thank the Government of India for evolving this procedure which will be of great help in furthering the studies of Indian Numismatics.

Yours sincerely,
P. J. Chinmulgund.

Shri R. K. Seshadri,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs,
New Delhi.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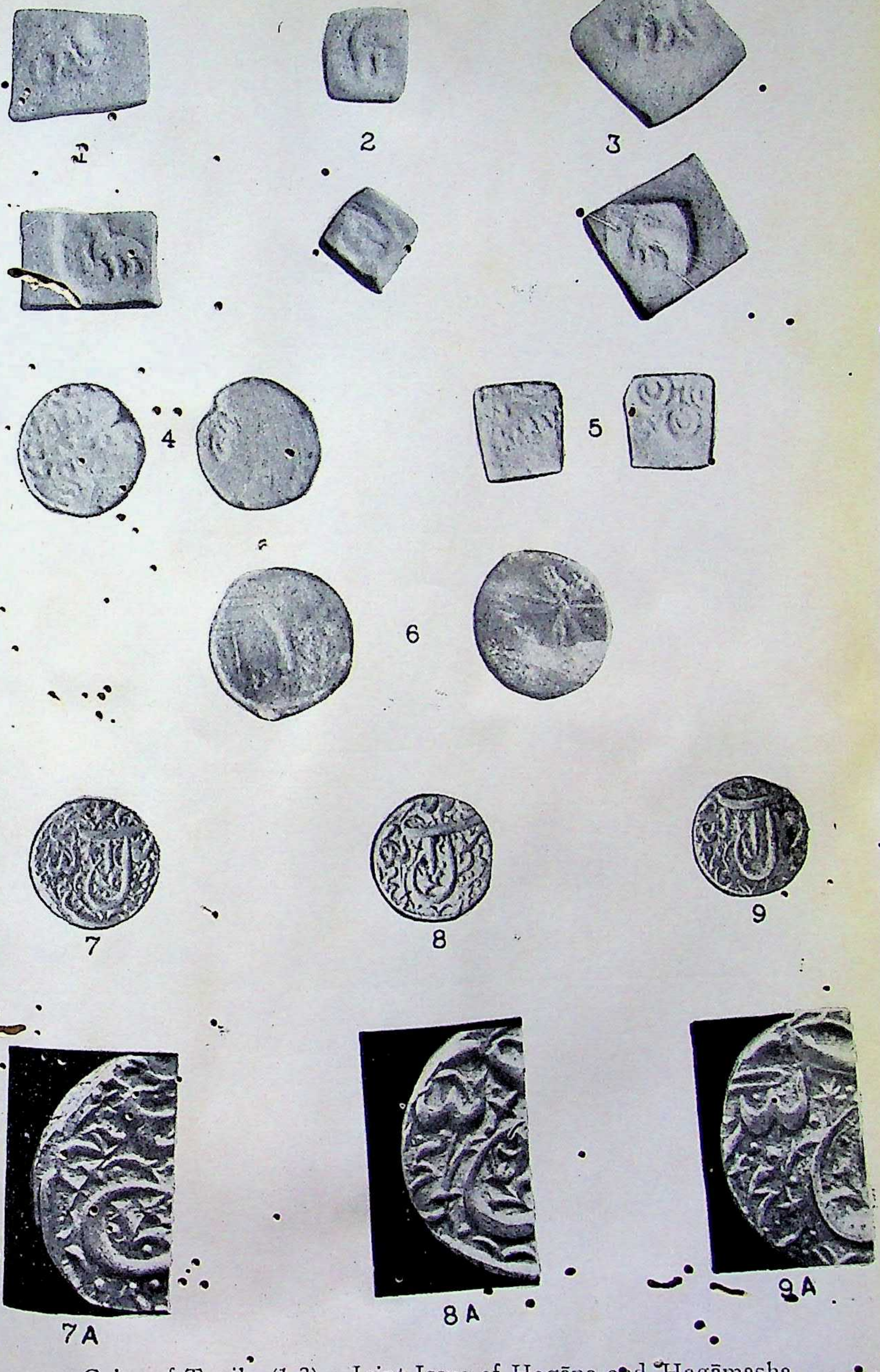
Coins issued by Trader's Guilds (1-3); Rhinoceros-slayer Type of Kumaragupta (4); and Gadhia Coins (5-16)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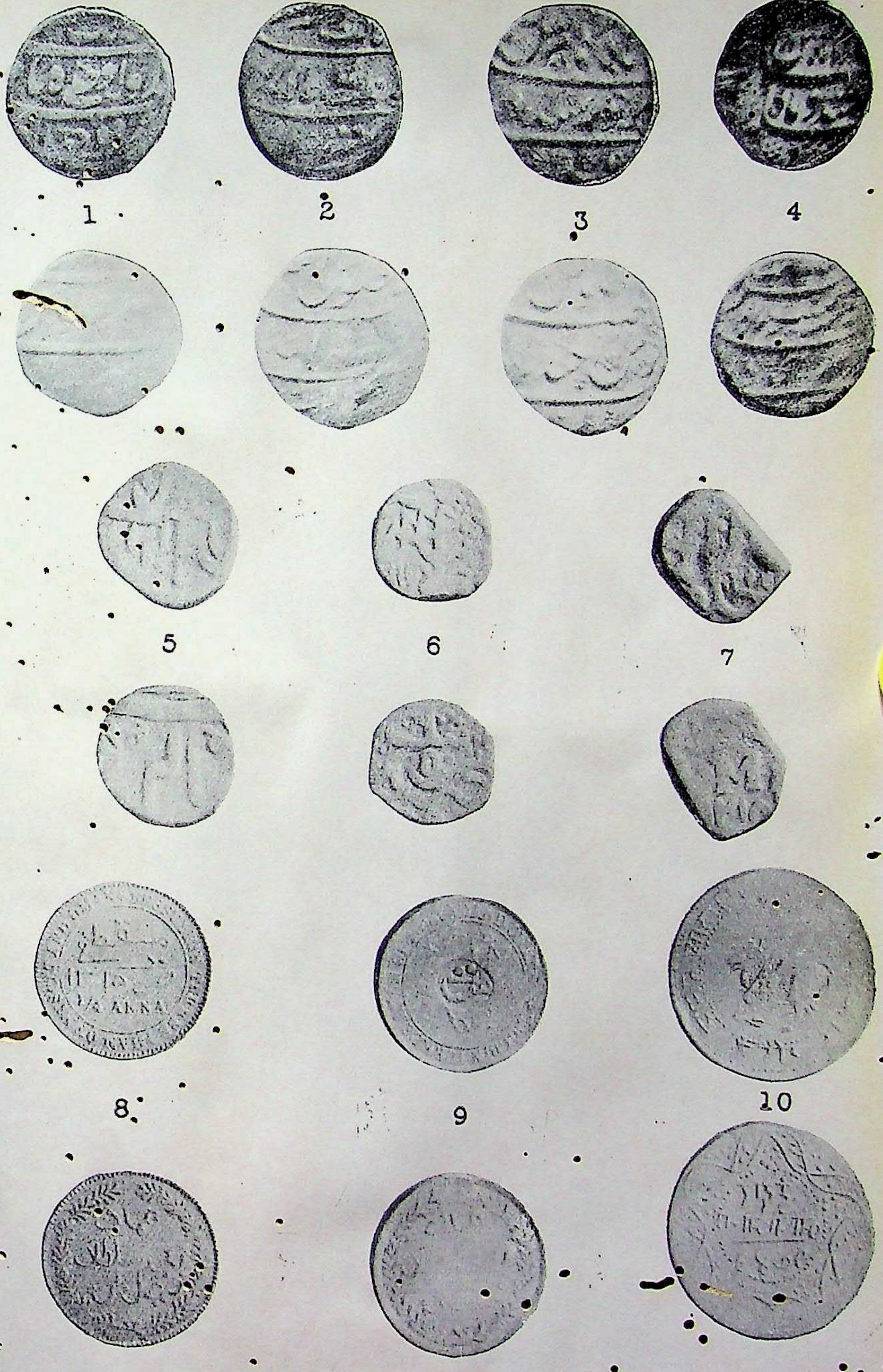
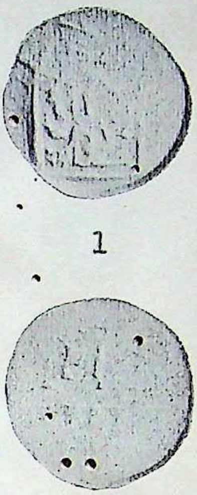
Coins of Taxila (1-3) ; Joint Issue of Hagāna and Hagāmasha (4) ; Coins of Śivagupta (5) and Devamitra (6) ; and Coins of Jahangir of Fatehnagar Mint (7-9 A)



Coins of Two Pretenders to the Mughal Throne (1-4); Coin of Sagar Mint (5); Coins of Masulipatam Mint (6,7); Muscat and Oman Coins (8-9); and Coin of Shivaji Rao (10)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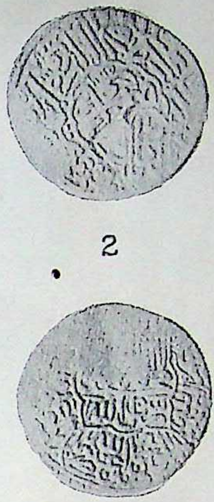
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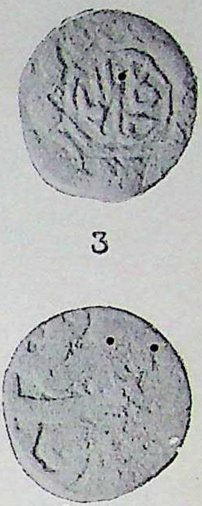
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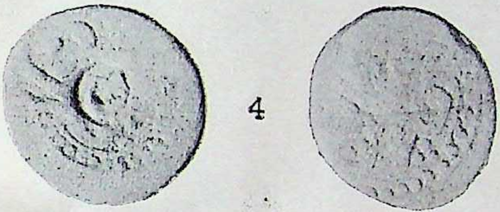
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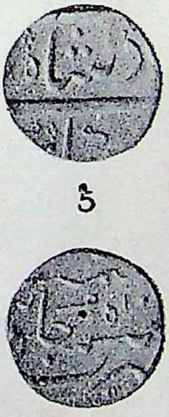
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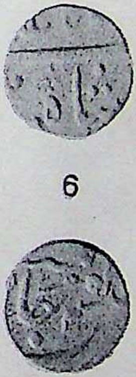
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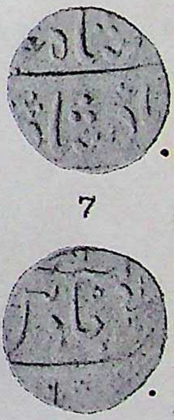
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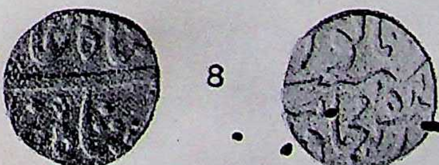
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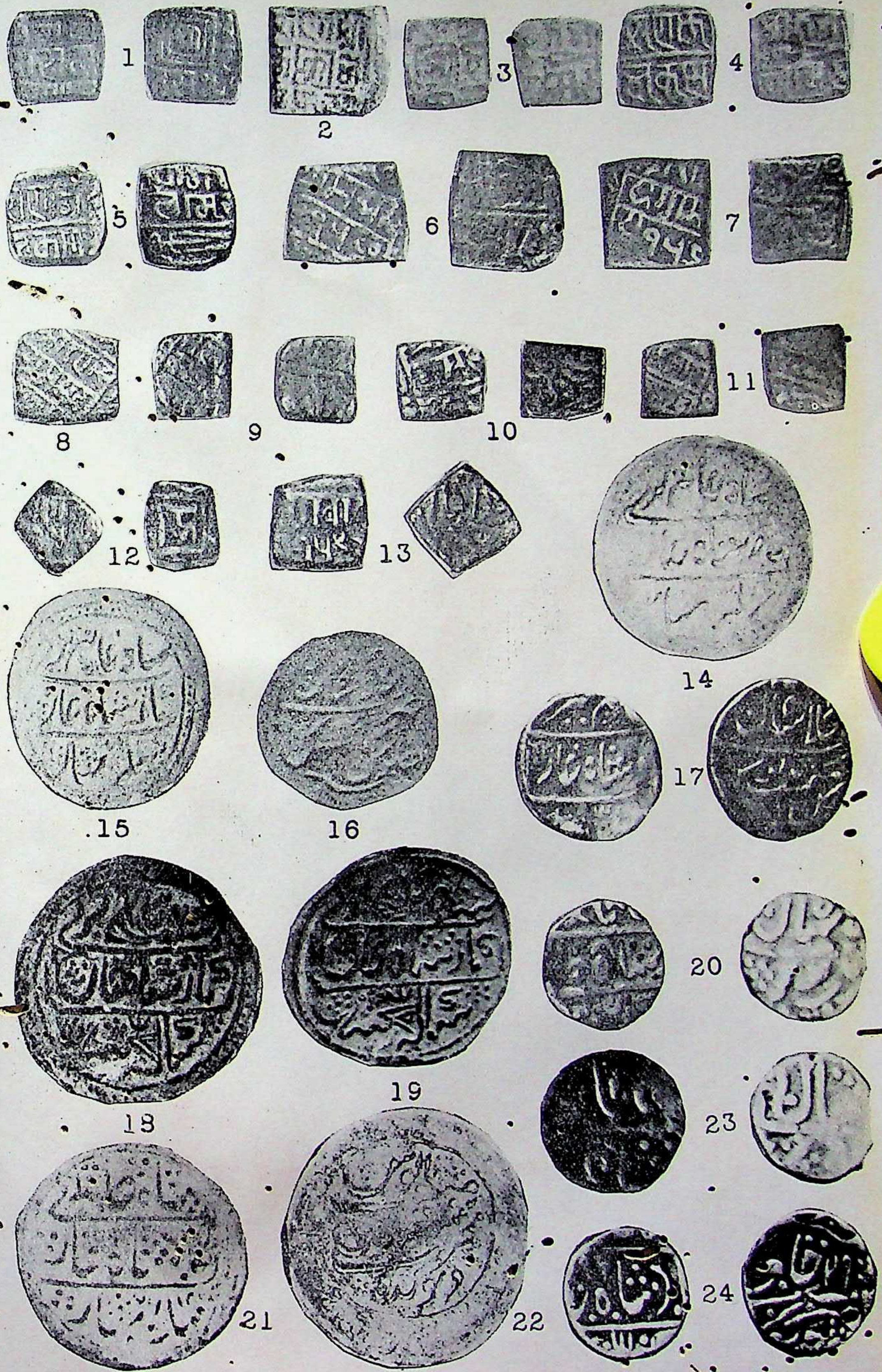
Countermarked Mughal and Suri Coins (1-4) ; and Silver Coins of Surat Mint (5-8)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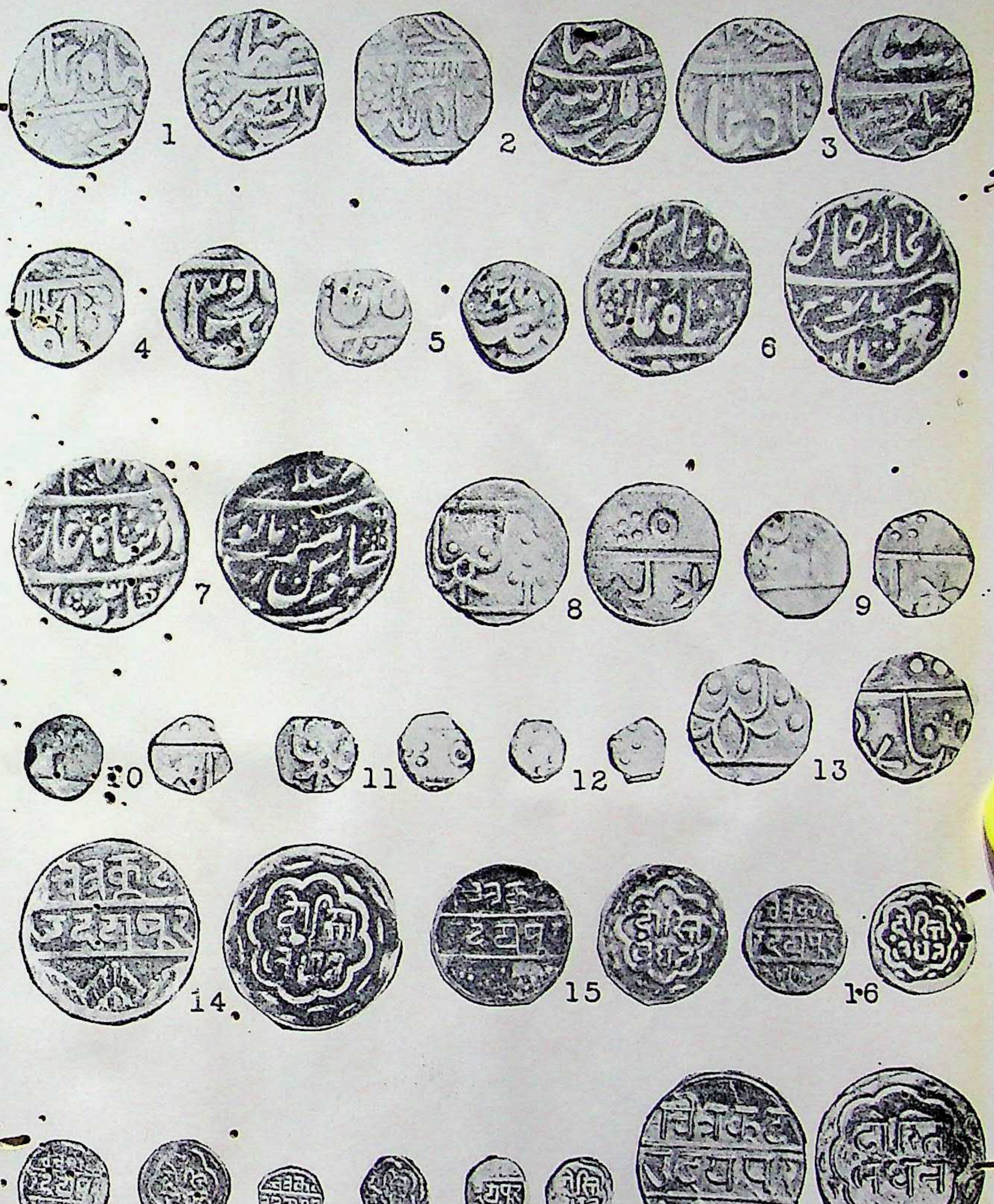
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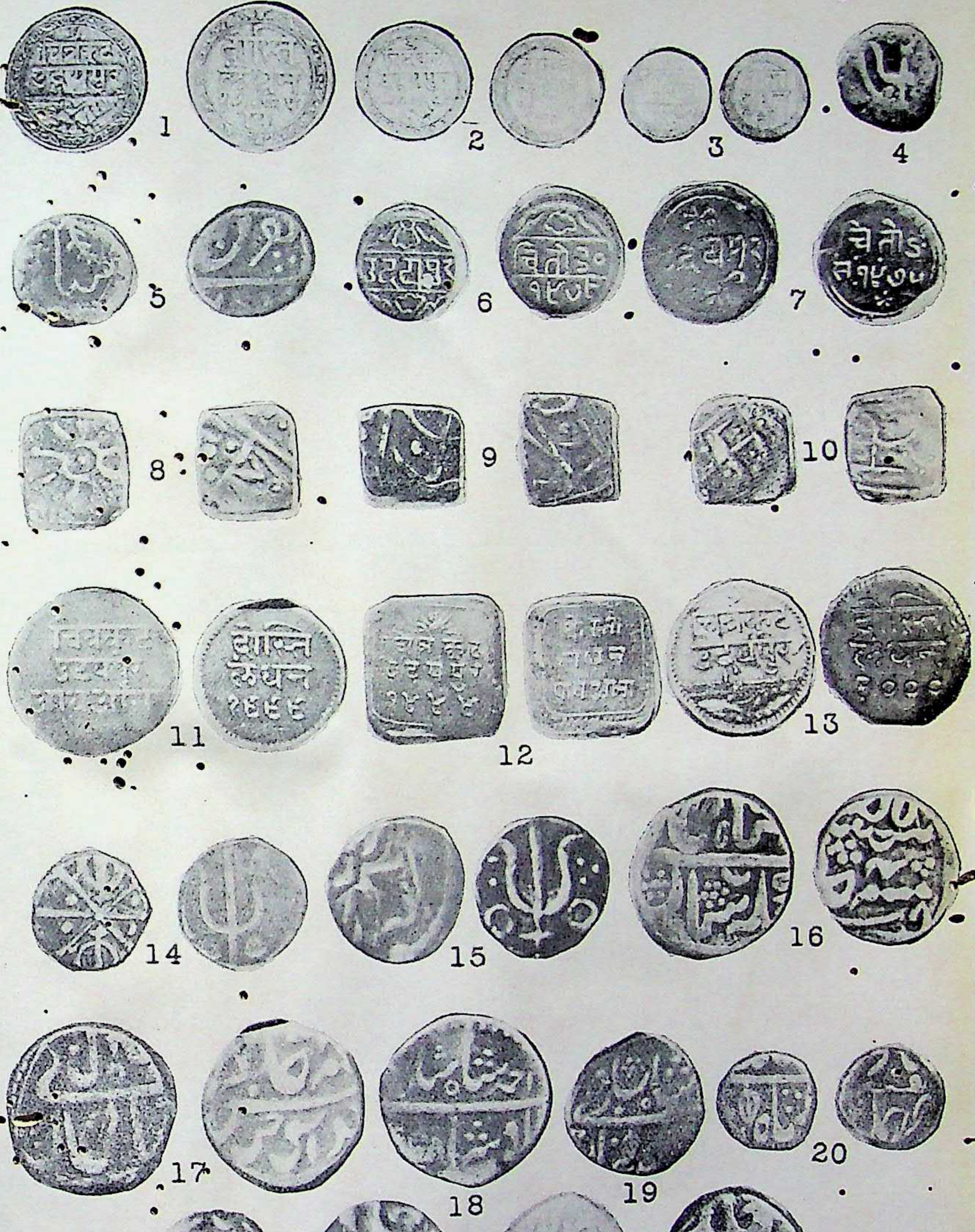
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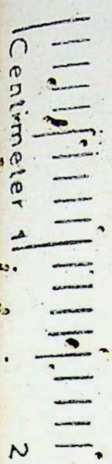
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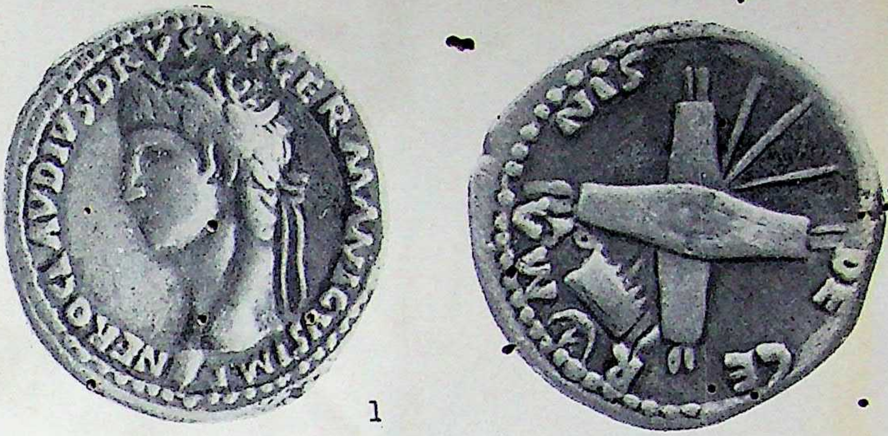
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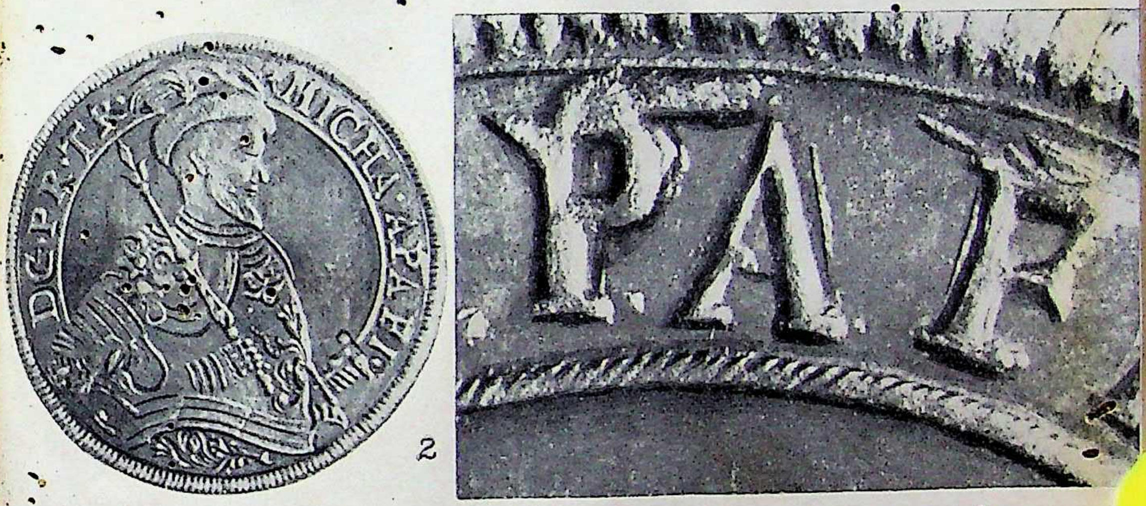
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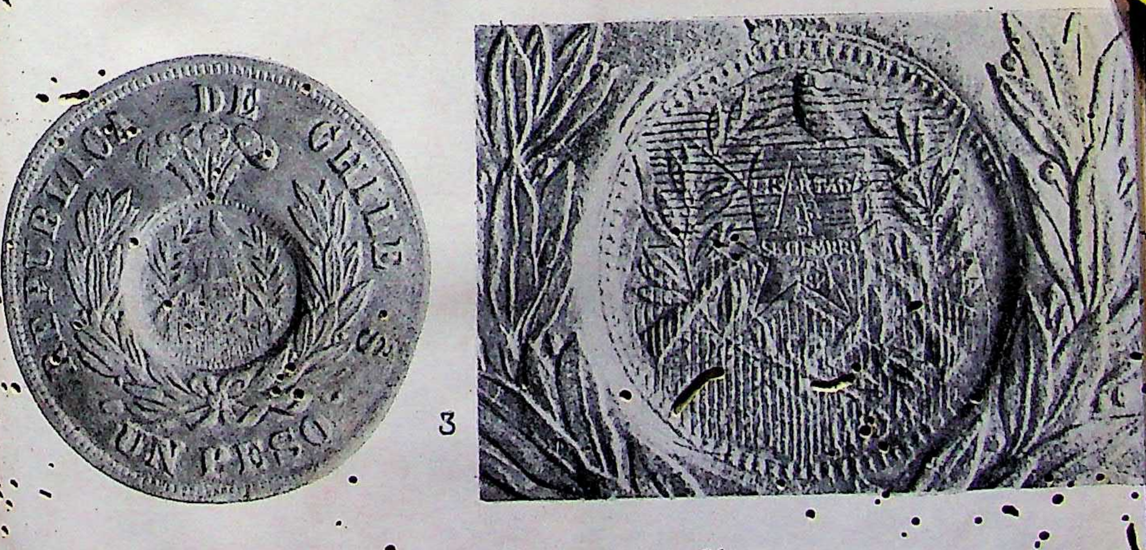
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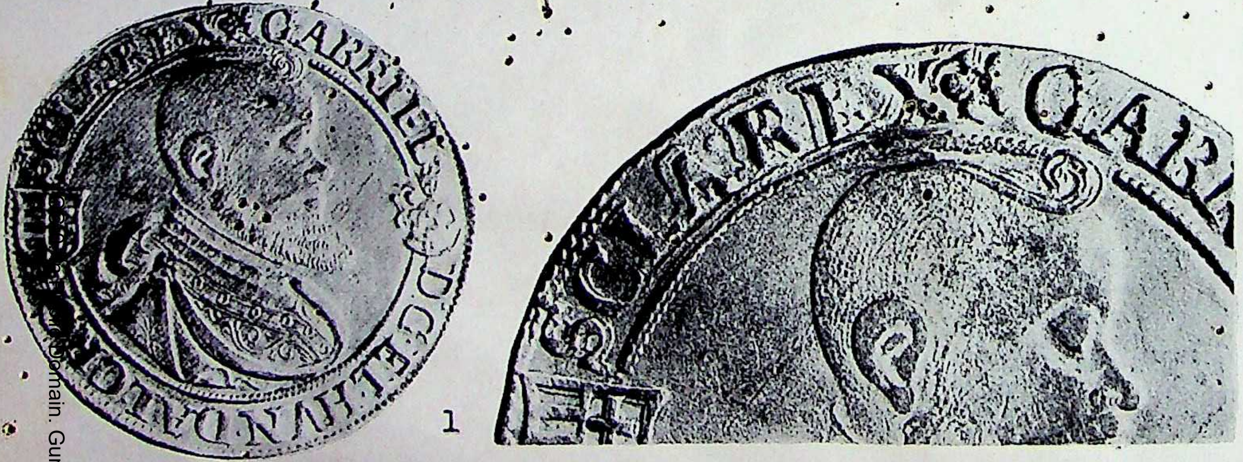

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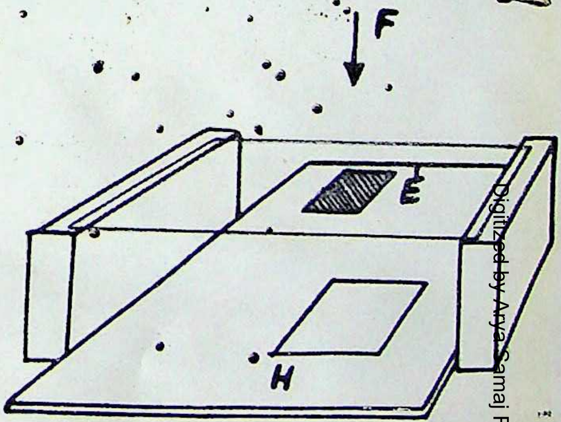

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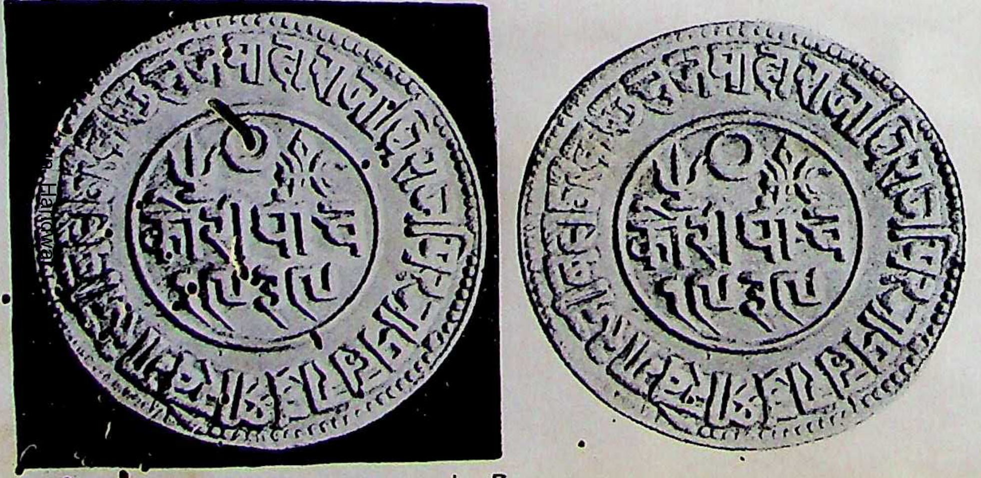

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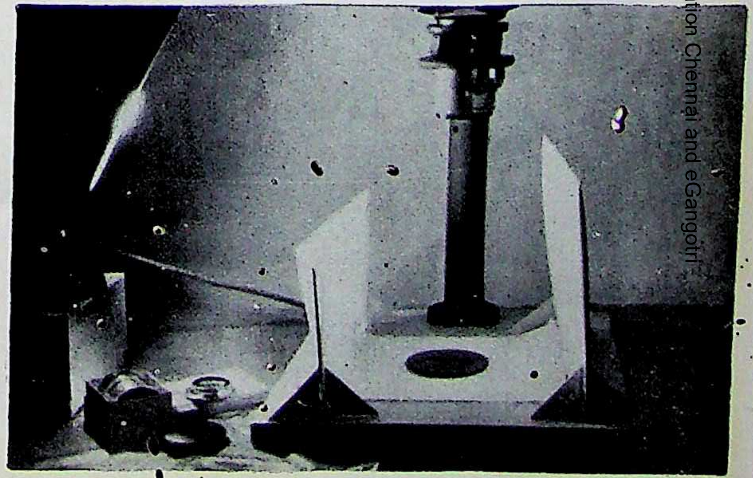

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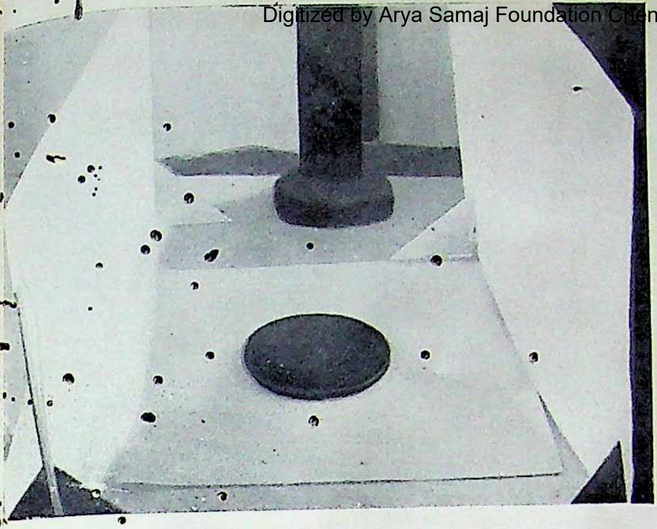

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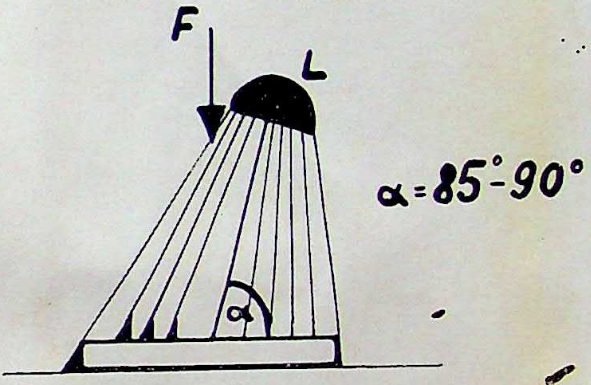

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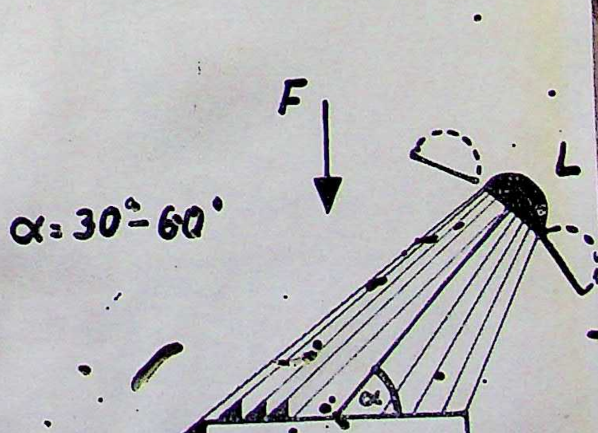

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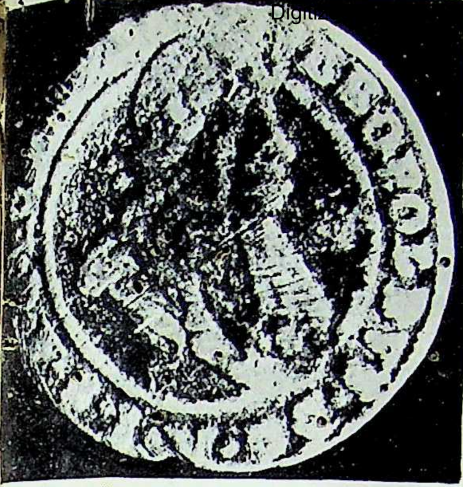

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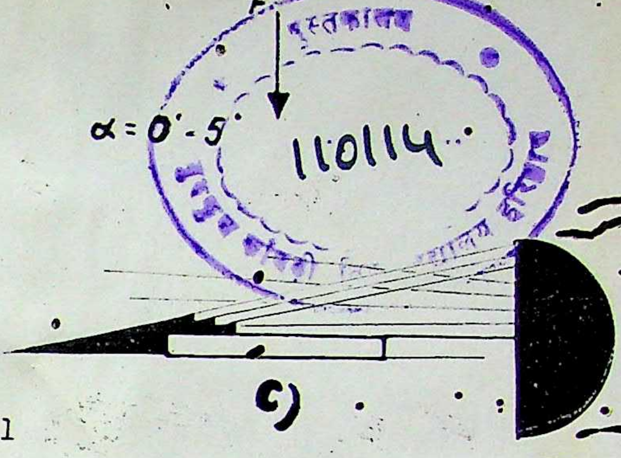

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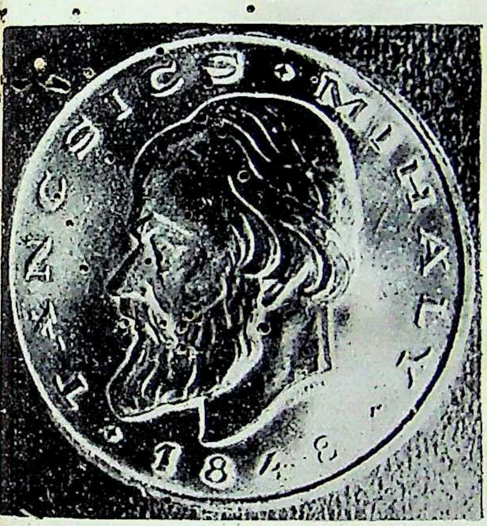

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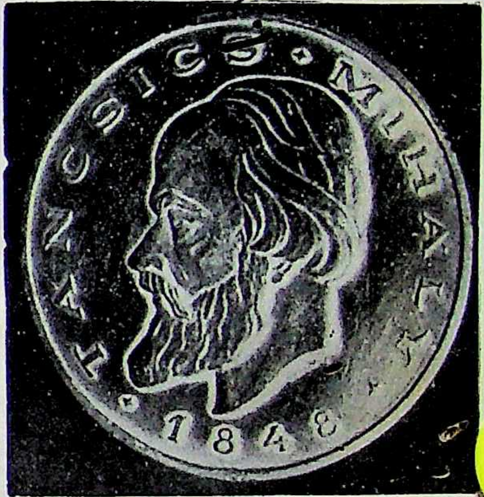

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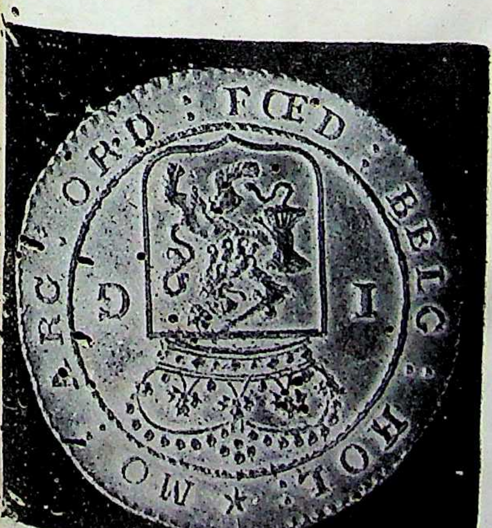
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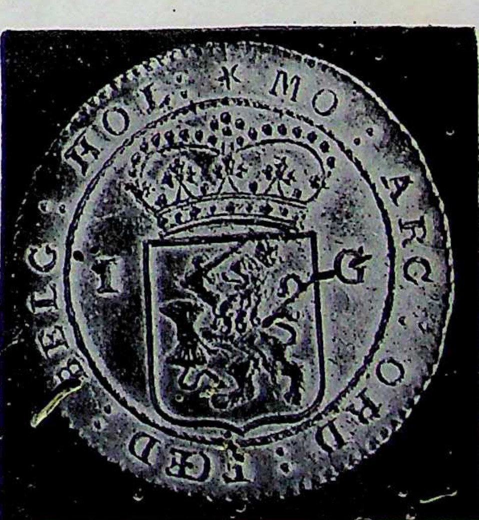
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THE JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Published twice a year, in June and December, each part containing approximately 120 pages with five or more plates and is sent post-free to all members of the Society. Its price to others is Rs. 12.50 nP. per part. It may be obtained direct from the Society.

Articles on Indian coins, medals, seals of all kinds are invited by the Editors. Shorter communications, such as records of discovery of coins or notes on numismatic subjects, are also considered for publication in suitable form.

The papers and communications intended for publication in Part I should reach the Editor by the beginning of January and for Part II by the beginning of July.

All the matter for publication should be neatly typed on one side of the paper, with proper diacritical marks for the transliteration of Sanskrit and Persian words, for which the following system should be followed :

ऋ ṛi ; ङ् ṅ ; च् ch, छ् chh, ञ् ñ, ण् ṇ, श् ś, ष् sh.

; ḍ ڈ ; d د ; kh خ ; ḥ ح ; ch چ ; j ج ; th ث ; ṭ ٹ ; t ت ; p پ ; b ب ; a ا
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All papers should be accompanied with good neat photographs or white casts of coins, meant for illustration. Where difficulty is felt, the Editors will be pleased to help.

Contributors will be paid an honorarium of Rs. 3 per page and supplied with 25 copies of off-prints free of cost.

All contributions and literature intended for review in the Journal may kindly be sent to—

PROF. A. K. NARAIN
BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5

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